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1702

THE HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION,

As it is Exercised at

GOA.

Giving an account of the Horrid Cruelties which are exercised therein.

Written in *French*, by the Ingenious Monsieur *Dellon*, who laboured five years under those severities.

With an Account of his Deliverance.

Translated into English.

London, Printed in the Year 1688.

T. 1702

1688 The History of the Inquisition at Goa. 1688

2 A Journal of the Venetian Campaign.

3 Advice to the Kings Subjects upon the Invasion of the Prince of Orange.

The State prodigal his return in a letter.

A Breviate for the Bishops in vindication of the Proceedings of the House of Commons for the settlemt. of the Throne.

The Carracter of a true English Protestant souldier &c.

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The humble Address of the Widow Whitrowe to King William &c. 1688

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9 a true & Imparcial account of the most material passages in Ireland since Decem.^{br} 1608 printed 1689

10 Chief Justice Herberts account examined.

11 an Enquiry into the Present State of Affairs.

12 A Vindication of the Proceedings of the two Last Parliam.^{ts} of King Charles 2.^{d}

13 the Plea of the Harmless oppressed against the Cruel Oppressor.

14 A Second Vindication of the Government & Magistracy of England.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

THE

TRANSLATOR

TO THE

READER.

THIS Tranſlation was made from the French *Copy, Printed by the direction of the Author at* Paris, *by* Daniel Horthemels 1688, *Octavo, with the permiſſion of the King. The Author had intermixed a deſcription of ſeveral Iſlands and Towns in the* Eaſt Indies, *and other places of his Travels; which, becauſe they contained nothing curious or extraordinary in them, and did not in the leaſt relate to the Story of the Inquiſition, I have wholly omitted; which might eaſily be done without any diſorder of the Hiſtory, or Mutilation of the Senſe, ſince the Author had compriſed all his Geographical digreſſions in diſtinct Chapters, and thereby given a fair opportunity of omitting them. I have no more to acquaint the Reader, but only that the Author of this Relation was Monſieur* Dellon, *a perſon well known to the World by his ingenious Writings, particularly by his Relation of his* Travels into the Eaſt Indies, *Printed at* Paris, 2 *Vol. in Octavo.*

TO

Mademoiſelle Du Cambout De Coſlin.

Madam,

I Should be unjuſt to complain of the Rigours of the Inquiſition, and the ill uſage which I received from her Officers, ſince they have adminiſtred to me the ſubject matter of this Work, and thereby afforded me the advantage of Dedicating it to you. I ſhould deſire, Madam, to make a juſt uſe of ſo favourable an occaſion, to have an Eloquence proportionable to my Zeal. I would employ it in ſpeaking of ſo many excellent Qualities, wherewith Heaven hath ſo liberally endued you, which render you one of the moſt aimable Perſons of the World, and cauſe you to be already admired by all thoſe who know you. In truth there is obſerved in you a Goodneſs and Sweetneſs which Charm, a vivacity and penetration of Spirit which ſurpriſe, a Prudence and Diſcernment, which are not ordinary to Perſons of your Age But this, Madam, deſerves our aſtoniſhment, that you are ſo accompliſhed; that to create a juſt Idea of you, and make your Elogy in few words, it doth not ſuffice to ſay that you are the worthy Daughter of two Perſons, no leſs Eminent and Illuſtrious for their Piety, than for their Birth and Quality.

May Heaven grant, Madam, that your Merit may be followed by an uninterrupted Happineſs; that your Proſperity may ſurpaſs even the meaſure of your Deſires; and that this Book, which I preſent to you, may be ſcattered into the moſt remote Provinces; not ſo much to inſtruct People in what paſſeth in the Tribunals of the Holy Office, as to preſerve the memory of your Illuſtrious name; and ſerve for an Eternel Proof of that profound reſpect, wherewith I am,

Madam,

Your moſt Humble, and

moſt Obedient Servant,

D***.

The PREFACE.

IT is but too ordinary to find Books, whose pompous Titles promise much, and which deceiving the expectation of the Reader, contain nothing less, than what is hoped to be found in them. In this Book a quite opposite method is observed; and those who shall give themselves the trouble to read it, will grant that the Title doth but imperfectly express the matter of the Book.

I have contented my self to describe faithfully what I observed in the Inquisition, without insisting to make large Reflections on it, and have chose rather to leave to the Readers the liberty of doing that. Those who have already any light knowledge of the Holy Office, will make no difficulty to believe all which is here related; the whole is so far from receiving any exaggeration; and how extraordinary soever the Proceedings and Formalities of the Inquisition may appear, the Reader may be assured that there is nothing here related, which is not exactly true. I do not in the least hereby pretend to blame the Inquisition it self: I am willing to believe that the Institution of it is good; and it is certain that in those places where it first began, it is not exercised with so great Severity, as in Spain, Portugal, *and the Countreys which depend upon these two Crowns, where it is received; but as all human Institutions, how excellent soever they be, are subject to Relaxation and Abuse, it is not to be admired, if Abuses have crept into the Tribunals of the Holy Office.*

It is of these Abuses therefore only that I design to complain; however the Inquisitors, who affect so great Secrecy in whatsoever relates to their Tribunals, will perhaps be displeased, that I have taken the liberty to expose to the Publick, things, which it seemed so much their concern to keep concealed. But besides, that this discovery may, if they will make a right use of it, be serviceable to them also, I thought it my Duty no longer to deprive the Publick of a knowledge, which could not but be very useful to it. In effect, it very much concerns those Persons, whose Curiosity, or Business shall oblige them to live in those places, where the Holy Office exerciseth its Jurisdiction, that they be informed of what they ought to avoid or do, that they may

not

not fall into the hands of those Officers, and thereby undergo a Misfortune like to that, which makes the Subject of this Relation.

An Extract of the Priviledge of the King.

BY the Grant and Priviledge of the King, given at *Versailles* the 21*st* day of *August* 1687. Signed, *by the King in his Council, Poullain,* it is permitted to the Sieur D*** to cause a Book to be imprinted, Intituled, *A Relation of the Inquisition of* Goa, during the time and space of 8 years, to be accounted from the day, when the first Impression shall be finished. And it is forbidden to all Printers, Booksellers, and others, to Print, Sell, or Divulge the said Book, upon pain of the Penalties mentioned in the said Grant.

The said Sieur D*** hath yielded and transferred his Right in the present Priviledge to *Daniel Horthemels*, to enjoy it according to the Agreement made between them.

A RELATION OF THE Inquisition of Goa.

CHAP. I.

Motives which induced me to publish this Relation.

ALL the World knows in general what the Inquisition is, and and that it is established in certain places, as *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, and most of the Countrys which depend upon them, and that the Judges which possess it, exercise with much severity upon the people subject to them, a Judicature unheard of to other Tribunals. It is moreover known, that this Rigour is not every where equal, for the Inquisition of *Spain* is more severe than that of *Italy*, and less severe than that of *Portugal*, and the States depending on it.

The Maxims of this unheard of Judicature may be found in printed books, the examination of those Maxims, and the effects of them in diverse occasions; but I know none who hath given himself the Liberty to tell us what passeth in the receiles of this Tribunal. The Officers of this Judicature are too much interessed in its conservation for to discover the secrets of it, and as for those who have had to do with these Magistrates, and their inferiour Officers, are informed of what is there practised, and have had some reason to complain of it. The fear of those terrible punishments, that are carefully inflicted upon those, who

ſhall be convinced not to have kept their Oath of Secrecy (which is extorted from them before they are ſet at Liberty) renders the Myſteries of the Inquiſition ſo impenetrable, that it is almoſt impoſſible ever to learn the truth, unleſs to him who hath the unhappineſs to be carried into her Priſon, and make the experience of them in his own Perſon: Or to thoſe who are inſtructed by any one, who had the happineſs not to yield under ſo great an Adverſity. Moreover, it is neceſſary that he who hath been ſhut up in the horrible Solitudes of the Holy Office, ſhould have taken care, during his impriſonment, diligently to obſerve what paſſed; and after his enlargement, hath the courage to relate without any fear, what himſelf hath learned and experienced.

Theſe are the reaſons that very few perſons truly know what paſſeth in that terrible Tribunal; and as after the obligation of rendring to God what we owe to him, there is no duty more preſſing than that of ſerving our Neighbour, and eſpecially the publick. I thought my ſelf obliged to relate what I have ſuffered, and what I obſerved in the Priſons of the Inquiſition at *Goa*; adding to it what I learned from credible perſons, whom I knew familiarly during the time of my impriſonment, and after my enlargement.

I doubted a long time whether I ought to publiſh this Relation, for it is more than eight years ſince I returned into *France*, and it is more than four ſince this Relation was writ. I feared to ſcandalize the Holy Office, and violate my Oath, and this fear was confirmed in me by Pious, but timerous Perſons, who were of the ſame Opinion as my ſelf; but other perſons no leſs Pious, and who ſeemed to me more Rational, at laſt convinced me, that it concerned the Publick upon many accounts to know this Tribunal well; that this Relation might be uſeful even to the Miniſters of the Holy Office, if they knew how to profit by it; and much more to thoſe who have a right to regulate the proceedings, and limit the juriſdiction of it. And as for the Oath of Secrecy, ſo unjuſtly extorted, as that is which the Inquiſition extorteth under pain of burning; the publick good ſufficiently diſpenſeth with it, for to ſet at liberty the Conſcience of him who took it, and conſequently puts him into a kind of obligation to relate what he knoweth.

See the Reaſons which hindred me from publiſhing this Relation before, and thoſe which now engage me to publiſh it at preſent; if the delay of it hath deprived the Publick of an uſeful knowledge; at leaſt it will ſerve to aſſure me that I have precipitated nothing, and that the reſentment of thoſe ill treatments which I ſuffered, had no ſhare in this account. In fine, what I here ſay of the Inquiſition of *Goa*, is to be underſtood of thoſe alſo of *Portugal* and *Spain*; for although this laſt be leſs cruel than the other two, upon this account, that thoſe publick Executions,

tions, which they call *Acts of Faith*, are here leſs frequent; and that there is a greater ignorance in the *Indies* than in *Portugal*. We ſee nevertheleſs by the Relation which the Gazette of *France* giveth the 12th of *Auguſt*, 1680. that the ſame Spirit, the ſame Rules, and the ſame Rigour, reign in all the Executions of the Inquiſition in all theſe Countries; foraſmuch as there is even in the relation of the Gazette, circumſtances much more terrible than thoſe of the *Act of Faith*, which I underwent.

CHAP. II.

The Apparant cauſes of my Impriſonment.

I Had ſtayed at *Daman*, a Town of the *Eaſt-Indies* poſſeſt by *Portugueze*, for to refreſh my ſelf a little from the fatigues which I had ſuffered in my Voyages, and that I might put my ſelf into a condition of continuing my Travels: But in the ſame place where I had hoped to have found reſt, I found the beginning of much greater troubles, than all thoſe which I had hitherto experienced. The true cauſe of all the Perſecutions which the Miniſters of the Inquiſition made me endure, was an ill-grounded jealouſie of the Governour of *Daman*. It is not hard to judge that this reaſon was never alledged in my proceſs: Yet for to ſatisfie the paſſion of this Governour they made uſe of divers pretexts; and they found at laſt the means of ſeizing me, and removing me from the *Indies*, where perhaps otherwiſe I had paſſed the reſt of my days.

It muſt be acknowledged, that altho theſe pretexts, of which they made uſe, were very weak for perſons inſtructed in the Faith, or in Law; they were nevetheleſs too ſufficient for ſuch perſons as the *Portugueze* are, in reſpect of their prejudices and maxims. Inſomuch as upon this account I thought them my ſelf ſo plauſible, that I diſcovered not the true reaſons of my detainment, but in the ſequel of the affair.

The firſt occaſion which I gave to my Enemies, to make uſe of the Inquiſition to deſtroy me, was a diſcourſe which I had with an *Indian* Monk, a Divine, of the Order of St. *Dominick*. But before I proceed any farther, I muſt premiſe, that altho my manners have not always been conformable to the Holineſs of that Religion wherein I was Baptized, I have yet been always ſtrongly addicted to the Religion of my Forefathers, I mean to that of the Catholick, Apoſtolick and *Roman* Church; and that God hath given to me more affections to the inſtructions which are received in it, than the greateſt part of Chriſtians ordi-

narily

narily have. Consequently I have always taken pleasure both to hear and read: And I never read any thing with so much diligence, as the Holy Scriptures, as well of the Old, as of the New Testament, which I commonly carry about with me. I had also taken care not to be Ignorant of the School Divinity; because in long Travels there is a necessity of continual conversation with all sorts of People; among whom may be found some of all Religions and Sects: And I freely disputed with Hereticks and Schismaticks whom I found in my way. I carried with me Books fit for this purpose, and among others, an Abridgment of Divinity, writ by Father *Don Peter de St. Joseph Feuillant*; and I was sufficiently instructed by discourse, and reading during my great leisure at Sea, and stay which I made in divers places of the *Indies*. I thought my self then in a condition of conversing, or even disputing with profest Divines, and I fell very Innocently into the Snare in talking with this Monk.

I lodged with the *Dominicans*, because of those earnest desires which they had made to me; and I lived with them with much kindness and familiarity. I had served them also upon diverse occasions in acknowledgment of the honour which they did me in desiring my company, and in return of the friendship which they testified to me. We were ofttimes in dispute, and that which I had with the aforesaid Monk, was concerning the effects of Baptism: We both agreed in the three Species of Baptism, which the Catholick Church acknowledgeth, and it was only in way of discourse, not for that I doubted of it, that I would deny the effect of that Baptism, which they call *Flaminis*; and for to maintain my opinion, I alledged that passage, *Whosoever is not born again of Water and of the Holy Ghost*, &c. Nevertheless I had scarce ended my discourse, but the good Father retired himself without answering one word, as if he had some pressing business; and went, according to all appearance, to inform against me to the Commissary of the Holy Office. I afterwards discoursed several times with this same Monk; and as he testified no coldness towards me, I was far from believing he had done to me so bad an Office.

I was oftentimes present in the Assemblies, where they carry about little Trunks, upon which is painted the Image of the Blessed Virgin, or that of some other Saint. The *Portegueze* are wont to kiss the Image which is upon this Trunk; and those who have devotion to these Confraternities, put their Alms into these Boxes. Here it is free to give any thing or not; but none can omit kissing the Image without giving scandal to the company. I was not then above 24 years old, and I had not all the Prudence requisite to a person who liveth among Strangers, to whose Customs it is fit to conform as much as may be; and as I was not

then

then used to these sorts of Ceremonies, I refused ofttimes to take and kiss these Boxes; from whence they rashly inferred, that I contemned the Images, and consequently that I was an Heretick.

I was with a *Portugueze* Gentleman, on a time when he was about to let his sick Son blood: I saw that this young man had in his Bed the Image of the H. Virgin made of Ivory; as he loved this Image extremely, he kissed it often, and addressed his speech to it. This way of honouring Images is very ordinary among the *Portugueze*; and it created some reluctance in me, because in effect the Hereticks interpreting it ill, this hinders them as much as any thing from returning to the Church. I said then to this young man, that if he did not take heed, his Blood would fly upon the Image; and he answered me, That he could not find in his heart to lay it by; I represented to him that this would hinder the Operation: Then he reproached me that the *French* were Hereticks, and that they adored not Images: To which I answered, That I believed we ought to honour them, and that if it were permitted to use the word *Adore*, yet this ought only to be in respect of our Lord Jesus Christ: in which case also it were necessary, that this Adoration should be referred to Jesus Christ represented by these Images: and for this I cited the Council of *Trent*, Session 25. It happened about the same time that one of my Neighbours coming to visit me, and seeing a Crucifix upon my Pillow, said to me, Monsieur, remember to cover this Image, if by chance you take any Woman into Bed to you, and to take heed of it. How is it, said I, that you imagine by this mean to hide your self from the eyes of God? Are you of the mind of those debauched Women which are among you, who after they have shut their Chaplets and Boxes of Reliques, believe they may without any crime abandon themselves to all excess: Go Monsieur, have more noble thoughts of the Deity; and think not that a little Linnen can hide our sins from the eyes of God, who seeth even the secrets of our heart. In fine, what is this Crucifix, but a piece of Ivory? We stopt there, and my Neighbour having withdrawn, acquitted himself very well of his pretended duty in going to accuse me to the Commissary of the Inquisition. For it is to be known, that all persons living in Countrys subject to the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, are obliged under pain of the greater Excommunication, reserved to the grand Inquisitour, to declare within the space of thirty days, all which they have seen to be done, or heard to be spoke, touching the cases of which that Tribunal takes Cognizance. And because many people might slight this punishment, or doubt whether they have actually incurred it, for to oblige people to obey this Order punctually, the Inquisitors will, that those who fail in making this Declaration within the time limited by their Constitutions, shall be esteemed Guilty,

and consequently punished, as if themselves had committed the Crimes which they did not reveal: which causeth that in the matter of the Inquisition, Friends betray Friends, Fathers their Children, and that Children, by an indiscreet Zeal, forget all the respect which God and Nature oblige them to bear to those who gave them life.

The obstinacy which I shewed in refusing to wear a Chaplet about my Neck, contributed no less to make them believe I was an Heretick, than my refusal to kiss the Images; but that which served above all the rest as a motive to my imprisonment, and my condemnation, was, that being pressed in company, where a discourse was raised concerning the justice of men, I said that it much less deserved that name, than the name of injustice; that men judging not but according to appearances, which are too often deceitful, were subject to make very unequitable judgments; and that God alone knowing things as they are, there is none but God who can truly be call'd just. One of those before whom I spake, took me up, and told me, that generally speaking what I advance was true, that nevertheless there was this distinction to be made, that if true Justice were not to be found in *France*, they had this advantage above us, that among them might be bound a Tribunal whose decrees were no less just, and no less infallible than those of Jesus Christ. I then understanding very well that he meant the Inquisition, answered, Think you that the Inquisitors are less men and less subject to their passions than other Judges. Spake not to me so, answered this zealous defender of the Holy Office; if the Inquisitors sitting upon the Tribunal are Infalible, it is because the Holy Ghost presides over their decisions. I could no longer bear a discourse, which appeared so unreasonable to me, and to prove to him by an example, that the Inquisitors were nothing less than what he pretended, I related to him the Adventure of Father *Ephraim de Nerves*, Capuchin and Apostolick Missionary into the *Indies*, who as *Mounsieur de la Boulay le Gou* relateth in the History of his Travels, was arrested by the Inquisition purely out of envy, about seventeen years before, where they had kept him and very ill treated him for a long time, and I concluded in telling him that I made no doubt that this Monk was more Vertuous and Learned than those who had kept him thus in Prison, without so much as permitting him to read his Breviary. I added that I esteemed *France* happy in refusing ever to admit this severe Tribunal, and I thought my self so in not being subject to its Jurisdiction. This discourse failed not to be exactly related to the Father Commissary; and this added to what I have already said, served afterwards to make my process.

CHAP. III.

Of the Visit which I made to the Commissary of the Inquisition to Accuse my self, and ask Advice of him.

NOtwitstanding the inviolable secrecy which the Inquisition exacteth by Oath of all those who approach her Tribunals, I failed not to have some notice of the depositions which were made against me. The apprehension of falling into the hands of the Holy Office made me go to find out the Commissary, from whom I hoped for Counsel and Protection, because I had been recommended to him by Persons, who deserved that consideration should be had of them; and for that all the time I had been at *Daman* he had always affected to be accounted one of my friends. I therefore fairly related to him how things had passed; and praying him to instruct me in what manner I should behave my self for the future, assuring him that as I had never any ill design, so I was ready to amend my self, and even to recant, if he should judge that I had advanced any thing which was not convenient. This Father assured me that my proceeding had given Scandal to many People, that he was satisfied that my intention had not been ill, and that there was nothing in all which I had said absolutely Criminal, that nevertheless he advised me to accommodate my self a little to the fashion of the people, and not to speak so freely of these sorts of matters, and above all of Images, which I had often said ought not to be adored, which I had endeavoured to prove by Citations out of the Scriptures and the Fathers. That the people were in truth in some light Errours, which passed for a true devotion; but that it was not for me to undertake to correct and reform them.

I thanked the Commissary for the good advice which he had given me, and returned very well satisfied: Forasmuch as I knew that having accused my self before I was arrested, I could not according to the Laws of the Inquisition be any more accused. I was besides very well satisfied of the Justice and integrity of this Commissary, because that having not found me guilty, he had given me all necessary advice for my future conduct with so much prudence: Insomuch as I could not any longer entertain the least shadow of Suspicion against my self.

CHAP. IV.

Containing the true cauſes of my Impriſonment, and how they Arreſted me.

ALthough all which I have laid down in the foregoing Chapters, was more than ſufficient for to deſtroy me, according to the Maxims of the Inquiſition, and the Cuſtom of the Country; yet things had not gone on ſo far, or ſo haſtily, if the Governour of *Daman*, called *Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza* had not been incited with that jealouſie which I before mentioned; which he diſſembled ſo well, that he ſeemed to be one of my beſt friends, yet underhand he vigorouſly ſollicited the Commiſſary of the Holy Office to write to *Goa* to the Inquiſitors for to inform them of the diſcourſe which I had held, reſolving not to loſe the occaſion which I had unadviſedly given him, of making ſure of me, and removing me from *Daman* for ever. The reaſon of the jealouſie of this Governour, was the frequent but innocent Viſits which I paid to a Lady whom he loved, and of whom he was but too much enamoured, that which I then was ignorant of; and as he judged upon feeble appearances, he apprehended that I was more loved by her than himſelf.

A certain Black Frier, Secretary of the H. Office, lodged over againſt this Lady, he had for her no leſs ſtrong a paſſion than the Governour, and had ſollicited her to ſatisfie his infamous deſires, even in the Tribunals of Pennance, as the Lady her ſelf aſſured me. This Prieſt obſerving me, became as jealous as the Governour, and although till then he had been one of my friends, and that I had alſo done him very important ſervices, he ceaſed not to joyn himſelf to *Manuel Hurtado* to oppreſs me.

Theſe two Rivals thus united, preſſed the Commiſſary ſo vigorouſly, that upon the advice which he ſent at their ſollicitation to *Goa*, he received order from the Inquiſition to arreſt me, which was performed the evening of the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1673. as I was returning from viſiting a Lady of great worth, called *Senora dona Franciſca Pereira*, Wife of one of the chief Gentlemen of the Town, called *Manuel Peixote de Gama*. This Lady was about 60 years old, ſhe thought her ſelf obliged to me for the life of her eldeſt Daughter, and of her Grand-daughter. And in truth, I had been ſo happy as not to be unſerviceable to her. The eldeſt had fallen ſick in the abſence of her Mother, and the Impudence of an *Indian* Phyſician had reduced her to the laſt extremity. When I was called, I took in hand this ſick Perſon and cured her; the Mother being returned,

returned, and raviſhed with joy for the cure of her beloved Daughter: her Grand-daughter, who was yet more dear to her, fell alſo ſick, and that more dangerouſly than her Aunt; nevertheleſs, I was not called at firſt for to ſee this young Patient, nor had they any recourſe to me till her life was in a deſperate condition. I found her in a very violent Fever, and although ſhe was at the point of falling into a Phrenzy, the *Indian* Phyſician, far from thinking of letting her blood, had covered her head with Pepper, which I cauſed firſt to be taken off, and undertaking the cure, ſucceeded very well, inſomuch as my Patient recovered in a few days a perfect health. From that time this Lady ſeeking occaſions of demonſtrating her gratitude loaded me with Preſents, and deſiring that I would lodge near her; ſhe had given me an Houſe over againſt her own. This was the ſame day which I before montioned, wherein ſhe had given me this Houſe, and I departed from this ſo generous a Lady to return in the evening to my own Lodgings; when the Criminal Judge of the Town, called in *Portugueze*, *Ouvidor de Crime*, came upon me, and commanded me to follow him into Priſon; whither I was carried without being able to obtain of him by what order he did this, till I was ſhut up in Priſon.

How great ſoever my ſurpriſe was, when the Judge arreſted me, yet as I was conſcious of my own innocence, but above all becauſe I imagined that I was ſeized upon ſome ſlight occaſion; I hoped, with ſufficient probability, that *Manual Hurtado*, who had always profeſſed much friendſhip towards me, would not permit that I ſhould ſtay ſo much as one night in Priſon. But when he who carried me thither told me, that it was by order of the Inquiſition, my aſtoniſhment was ſo great, that I remained for ſome time immovable; at laſt, having a little recollected my ſelf, I deſired to ſpeak with the Commiſſary, but to heighten my misfortune, they told me, that he had parted that very day for *Goa*; ſo that there remained to me no other comfort, than the hope which every one gave me, that I ſhould be very ſhortly ſet at liberty; becauſe the juſtice of the H. Office was not only equitable, but inclined very much to mercy, eſpecially towards thoſe who acknowledged their fault betimes, without being a long while ſollicited to do it.

All theſe fine words hindred not my unhappineſs from becoming very ſenſible to me; and the ſight of my friends, who failed not to come and comfort me, far from comforting, ſerved only more extremely to afflict me, by the compariſon which I made of their condition to my own. As I had no Enemies but hidden ones, they eaſily mixed themſelves among my beſt friends: The Governour and the Black Frier, who deſired nothing ſo much as my removal, knew admirably well

CHAP. IV.

Containing the true causes of my Impriſonment, and how they Arreſted me.

ALthough all which I have laid down in the foregoing Chapters, was more than ſufficient for to deſtroy me, according to the Maxims of the Inquiſition, and the Cuſtom of the Country; yet things had not gone on ſo far, or ſo haſtily, if the Governour of *Daman*, called *Manuel Hurtado de Mendoza* had not been incited with that jealouſie which I before mentioned; which he diſſembled ſo well, that he ſeemed to be one of my beſt friends, yet underhand he vigorouſly ſollicited the Commiſſary of the Holy Office to write to *Goa* to the Inquiſitors for to inform them of the diſcourſe which I had held, reſolving not to loſe the occaſion which I had unadviſedly given him, of making ſure of me, and removing me from *Daman* for ever. The reaſon of the jealouſie of this Governour, was the frequent but innocent Viſits which I paid to a Lady whom he loved, and of whom he was but too much enamoured, that which I then was ignorant of; and as he judged upon feeble appearances, he apprehended that I was more loved by her than himſelf.

A certain Black Frier, Secretary of the H. Office, lodged over againſt this Lady, he had for her no leſs ſtrong a paſſion than the Governour, and had ſollicited her to ſatisfie his infamous deſires, even in the Tribunals of Pennance, as the Lady her ſelf aſſured me. This Prieſt obſerving me, became as jealous as the Governour, and although till then he had been one of my friends, and that I had alſo done him very important ſervices, he ceaſed not to joyn himſelf to *Manuel Hurtado* to oppreſs me.

Theſe two Rivals thus united, preſſed the Commiſſary ſo vigorouſly, that upon the advice which he ſent at their ſollicitation to *Goa*, he received order from the Inquiſition to arreſt me, which was performed the evening of the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1673. as I was returning from viſiting a Lady of great worth, called *Senora dona Franciſca Pereira*, Wife of one of the chief Gentlemen of the Town, called *Manuel Peixote de Gama*. This Lady was about 60 years old, ſhe thought her ſelf obliged to me for the life of her eldeſt Daughter, and of her Grand-daughter. And in truth, I had been ſo happy as not to be unſerviceable to her. The eldeſt had fallen ſick in the abſence of her Mother, and the Impudence of an *Indian* Phyſician had reduced her to the laſt extremity. When I was called, I took in hand this ſick Perſon and cured her; the Mother being returned,

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how to diſſemble their hatred and their jealouſie; the firſt in ſending to me the Officer of his houſe, to aſſure me of the ſorrow which he conceived from my misfortune, and to offer all poſſible aſſiſtance to me; the other in coming to the Grate, to ſhed ſome falſe tears, which joy, rather than compaſſion, drew from him.

CHAP. V.

Deſcription of the Priſon. I writ to the Inquiſitors, who returned me no anſwer. Extreme miſery of the Priſoners.

THe Priſon of *Daman* is lower than the River, which is near to it, which makes it moiſt and unhealthy; and it wanted but little that it was not overflowed ſome years ſince, by a hole which the Priſoners had made under the Wall, for to eſcape thereby. The Walls are very thick. The Priſon conſiſts in two large low Rooms, and one upper one. The Men are in the lower, the Women in the upper Room. Of the two lower Rooms, the greater is about 40 foot long, and 15 broad, and the other two thirds of this extenſion. We were in this ſpace of ground about 40 Priſoners, and there was no other place to ſatisfie the ordinary neceſſities of nature but that. We made water in the middle of this Room, where the collection of theſe waters made a kind of Sea: and the Women had no better convenience in their ſtage, there being this only difference between them and us, that their waters ran from their high room through the Planks into ours, where all thoſe different waters mixed together. For the other excrements, our only convenience was a large Basket, which was ſcarce emptied above once a week; whereby an innumerable ſwarm of Worms were bred, which covered the pavement, and came even upon our Beds. While I ſtaid in this Priſon, the care which I took to have it cleanſed, rendred it a little leſs horrible; but altho I often cauſed even 50 Pitchers of Urine to be caſt out in one day, yet the ſtink ceaſed not to be very great.

Scarce was I ſhut up in this ſad dwelling, but making a ſerious reflexion upon my unhappineſs, I eaſily diſcovered the cauſe, and reſolved to forget nothing which might contribute to my enlargement. My friends continually told me, That my beſt and readieſt way to recover my liberty, was to confeſs voluntarily, and at large, what I thought had procured my ruin. Being willing then to make uſe of their advice, I writ to *Goa* to the Grand Inquiſitor, who is called in *Portugueze*, *Inquiſidor mor*: I ingenuouſly declared to him in my Letter, all which I believed

lieved I could have been accuſed of; and deſired him to conſider, that if I had failed, it was rather through levity and imprudence, than malice. My Letter was delivered faithfully, but againſt my hope and the deſire of my friends, they returned no anſwer to me, but ſuffered me to languiſh in this ſtinking and obſcure Priſon, in the company of diverſe Negroes; who, as well as I, were arreſted by Order of the H. Office.

The charitable care which *Dona Franciſca* took of me all the time that I ſtay'd Priſoner at *Daman*, rendred my Captivity a little more ſupportable. This generous Lady contented not herſelf to ſend me what was neceſſary, but I received every day from her wherewith to nouriſh abundantly and delicately four perſons. She herſelf took the trouble of dreſſing my meat, and always ſent along with the Slave, who brought the meat, ſome of her Grand-Children, who might ſee me receive it; fearing leſt any one ſhould ſuborn her Domeſticks or the Jaylor to poiſon me. And altho ſhe could not come in perſon to comfort me in the Priſon, ſhe took care that her Husband, her Children, and her Sons-in-Law ſhould come every day.

It was not ſo with the other Priſoners; there is no regulated ſubſiſtance for them at *Daman*: the Magiſtrates leave them to the Charity of whoſoever have a mind to relieve them: And as there were in the whole Town but two perſons, who ſent them Meat duly twice a Week; the greateſt part of the Priſoners receiving nothing upon other days, were reduced to ſo deplorable a miſery, that this contributed not a little to imagine mine the greater I gave all that I could ſpare from my own ſubſiſtance, yet there were ſome of thoſe unhappy perſons, who were ſeparated from us but by a Wall, who were forced by hunger to live upon their own Excrements. Upon this occaſion I learned that ſome years before about Fifty *Malabar* Pirates being taken and ſhut up in this Room, the horrible Famine which they ſuffered, caſt more than forty of them into ſuch a deſpair that they ſtrangled themſelves with the Linnen of their Turbants. The extremity which thoſe poor people endured that were with me, created much compaſſion in me, which induced me to write to the Governour, and to the Chief Men of the Town, who after that were ſo charitable as to ſend maintenance to theſe miſerable Victims of the H. Office.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The return of the Father Commiſſary. They remove me to Goa.

THE Commiſſary had not found me a Criminal in that Confeſſion, which I went to make to him of my own accord, as I before ſaid; and although he had found me a Criminal, yet ought I to remain free according to the Laws of the Inquiſition. But as this was not the intention of the Governour and the Black Frier, this Father violating all theſe Laws, had accuſed me as a Dogmatizing Heretick; he might have ſent me to the Inquiſition of *Goa* immediately after my impriſonment, and if he had done ſo, I might have come out of Priſon three months after, at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed in the *December* following. But this was not the intent of my Rivals, that I ſhould be ſo ſoon at liberty, this is the reaſon why the Commiſſary far from removing me immediately from *Daman*, departed himſelf that he might not receive my deſires and complaints, and went to *Goa* as ſoon as he cauſed me to be arreſted, from whence he returned not till after the *Act of Faith*, that is to ſay, till the end of *December*; and I know not whether he employed the four months which he made me paſs in the Priſon of *Daman*, in commending me to the Inquiſitor, as a Man very criminal, and very dangerous, whom it were neceſſary to remove from the *Indies*; rather I have reaſon to ſuſpect it, by the rigour which they affected to uſe in my condemnation, which appeared ſo extraordinary even in *Portugal*. The Commiſſary returned then the 20th of *December*, with the little Fleet which goeth ordinarily in this Seaſon from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, for to ſerve as a Convoy to the Merchant Ships. This Father who had order to cauſe all the Priſoners of the Inquiſition to be embarqued upon the *Galliots*, warned me to be ready to depart, when the Fleet ſhould return from *Cambaia*.

Monſieur l'Able carre returning in the mean time from St. *Thome*, where was *Monſieur de la Haye*, and paſſing by *Daman*, having with much difficulty obtained leave to ſee me, was ſo kind as to viſit me in the Priſon upon the *Eve* and the day of *Chriſtmas*, which was that of his departure to *Surrat*. I writ to the Commiſſary, and deſired him by diverſe perſons, that he would ſpeak with me; but neither my Letters, nor the ſollicitations of thoſe who intereſſed themſelves for me could prevail with him; ſo much did he fear the juſt reproaches which I ſhould have made to him upon account of his inſincerity.

About the ſame time, a *Portugueze*, named *Manuel Vas*, whom I had known very particularly, being accuſed of having a Wife in *Portugal*, was

was arreſted by order of the H. Office, and carried into the Priſon where I was, for having married a ſecond Wife a month ſince at *Daman*.

My generous Protectreſs underſtanding that I was to be removed to *Goa*, failed not to prepare proviſions for me, which might have ſuffered for a much longer Voyage than what I was to perform. At laſt, part of the Fleet being returned from *Cambaia*, the Commiſſary ſent Irons and Chains for to put upon the feet of all thoſe who were to be carried to *Goa*. The Negroes were chained two and two, except ſome which were ſo waſted with famine endured in the Priſons, that they were forced in embarquing them to leave them the liberty of their Feet, which yet they were not in any condition to make uſe of. As for the *Portugueze* and me, they did us the honour for to afford us ſeparate Irons. The Commiſſary had alſo the Civility to tell me, that he left me the choice of two Chains, which were deſtined for his fellow Country-man and my ſelf, and to make uſe of his civility, I choſe the moſt convenient, although the heavier Chain. I went out of Priſon with the reſt on the laſt of *December*, and was carried in a Pelangvin with the Irons on my feet, to the bank of the River, where I found diverſe of my friends met together, whom I had the liberty to embrace, and bid farewel to them. The Governour who was preſent, omitted nothing whereby he might perſwade me of the ſorrow which he took in my misfortune; and made a thouſand counterfeit Prayers for my ſpeedy deliverance and happy return. The ſight of my friends and their tears, ſerved only to augment my grief; but nothing was more grievous to me than the denial of taking leave of my Benefactreſs, whom I would have thanked for all her charitable care which ſhe had taken of me; at laſt after many melancholy complements they put me into a Boat, and I was carried into one of the Galliots of this little Fleet, which expected only the Orders of their General for to weigh her Anchors.

CHAP. VII.

Departure from Daman. *We paſs to* Bacaim, *and ſtay there. Our Arrival at* Goa.

ALthough one great part of the Galliots and Barques were not yet arrived from *Diu* and *Combaia*, the General, *Lewis de Mello*, ceaſed not to give the ſignal of departure to thoſe which were then at *Daman*. From whence we parted the firſt day of the year 1674. with a deſign to go to *Bacaim*; to wait there till the reſt of the Fleet ſhould joyn us,

as the wind was favourable, and that we had not above 20 Leagues to Sail, we arrived there on the morrow, and had no ſooner let down our Anchors, but all the Priſoners were immediately Landed, and carried into the Priſons of that Town to be kept there all the while the Ships ſhould remain in the Haven. I was carried thither with the reſt. One of my friends, who had been ſettled a while ſince at *Bacaim*, having in vain endeavoured to obtain leave to ſee me, aſſured me by a Letter that he had alſo much difficulty to let me know the part which he took in my misfortune.

The Priſon of *Bacaim* is leſs raſty, and larger than that of *Daman*, we found there a good number of companions in miſery; whom the Father Commiſſary of the Inquiſition in that Town had detained Priſoners a long time, waiting for a fit occaſion to ſend them to *Goa*. They were all Chained as we were. They put us aboard the *7th* of the ſame Month, and all the Fleet being met together, and ſufficiently provided with all things neceſſary, we weighed Anchors, and made Sail the next day.

There happned nothing remarkable to us during the reſt of the Voyage. We Sailed always in ſight of Land: And the Wind being pretty favourable to us, we arrived on the fourteeth at the Bar of *Goa*. Our Captain having immediately given advice to the Inquiſitors, we landed the next day, and were carried to the Inquiſition. But becauſe there was no audience on that day, one of the Officers of the Houſe cauſed us to be carried into the ordinary Priſon; that is, into the Priſon of the Archbiſhop of *Goa*: This Priſon is called in *Portugueze*, *al Jouvar*. I entred one of the firſt, and ſaw all our unfortunate companions arrive by degrees, and meet together, after their diſperſion during the Voyage.

This Priſon is the moſt raſty, the moſt dark, and the moſt horrible of all which I ever ſaw; and I doubt whether a more naſty and horrible Priſon can any where be found. It is a kind of Cave, wherein there is no day ſeen but by a very little paſſage; the moſt ſubtile rays of the Sun cannot enter into it, and there is never any true light in it. The ſtink of it is extreme; for there is no other place for the neceſſities of the Priſoners, than a dry Pit upon the floor, in the middle of the Cave, which a man dare ſcarce approach, inſomuch as part of the ordure remained upon the ſide of the Pit, and the greateſt part of the Priſoners went not ſo far, but eaſed themſelves round about it. When night came, I durſt not venture to lay my ſelf down, as fearing the Vermin, whereof the Priſon was full, and the ordures, wherewith it was ſcattered all over, but was forced to paſs away the night, leaning againſt a Wall. Nevertheleſs, as horrible as this dwelling was, I ſhould have preferred it to the private and lightſome Chambers of the Holy Inquiſition; becauſe there was company and converſation to be had in the

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al Fouvar, whereas I was informed there was none in the Prisons of the Holy Office.

CHAP. VIII.

How I was conducted to the Inquisition, and what is done to them who are shut up in Prison.

I Began to flatter my self that they would suffer me to remain in the *al Fouvar*, till my Affair should be ended; because they had left us there all the day and the night following. But I saw all my hopes to vanish, when on the 16th day of *January* an Officer came at Eight of the Clock in the morning with order to carry us to the Holy House: Which was immediately put into Execution. It was not without great trouble that I got to the place whither they conducted me, because of the Irons I had upon my Leggs. Yet were we in this lamentable equipage forced to walk the whole way from the *al Fouvar* to the Inquisition. Being helped to ascend the stairs I entred with my Companions into the great Hall, where we found Smiths, who took our Irons off; after which I was first called to audience.

After I had crossed the Hall I passed in an Antichamber, and from thence to the place where my Judge was. This place, which is called by the *Portugueze*, *Mela do Santo Officio*, that is, *the Table of the Holy Office*, was spread with diverse pieces of Taffeta, some Blue, others Orange-colour. At one of the ends was placed a great Crucifix in Relievo, which reached almost to the Plancher. There is in the middle of the Chamber a great Scaffold, upon which is placed a Table about 15 foot long and 4 broad, and round about Rails, even upon the Scaffold. At one of the ends of this Table, and upon the side of the Crucifix, was the Secretary sitting upon a folding Stool. I was placed at the other end, over against the Secretary: Just by me, and on my Right hand, was within a Rail the Grand Inquisitor of the *Indies*, called *Francisco Del Cudo e Mates*, a Secular Priest, about 40 years old; because of the two Inquisitors which are ordinarily at *Goa*, the Second, which is always a Religious of the Order of St. *Dominick*, was gone a little before into *Portugal*, and that none had been yet named to supply his place.

As soon as I was entred into the Chamber of Audience, I cast my self at the feet of my Judge, imagining to mollifie him by this humble posture: But he would not suffer me to continue in that posture, commanding me to arise. Then having asked my name and my profession;

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he enquired whether I knew for what reaſon I had been arreſted, and adviſed me to declare it at large; ſince this was the only means to recover my liberty ſpeedily. After I had ſatisfied his two firſt queſtions, I told him I believed I knew the reaſon of my detention; and that if he would have the goodneſs to hear me, I would accuſe my ſelf upon the ſpot. I mixed my tears with my prayers, and once more proſtrated my ſelf at his feet: But my Judge, without being moved, told me it ſignified nothing; that he had then more important buſineſs to handle than mine was; and that he would cauſe me to be advertiſed when he ſhould reſume my affair: and ſo immediately ringing a little Bell of Silver which was before him, he made uſe of it to call the *Alcaide*, or Jaylor of the Holy Office; who entred into the Chamber, from whence he led me, and carried me into a long Gallery not far off, whither the Secretairy followed us: Thither I ſaw my Trunk brought, which was opened n my preſence; they ſearched me alſo narrowly, and took from me all which I had about me, to my very Buttons, and a Ring which I had upon my finger; without leaving me any thing except my Chaplet and my Handherchief, and ſome pieces of Gold which I had ſowed up in one of my Garters, which they forgot to ſearch. Of all the reſt they immediately made a pretty exact Inventory, which afterwards was wholly unuſeful to me; for all that was valuable was never reſtored to me, although at that time the Secretary had aſſured me, that at my enlargement all ſhould be faithfully returned into my hands: and the Inquiſitor himſelf had after that oftimes reiterated the ſame promiſe.

This Inventory being finiſhed, the *Alcaide* took me by the hand, and led me bare-headed into a little Cell of ten foot ſquare, where I was ſhut up all alone without ſight of any one till the evening, when they brought me my Supper. As I had eaten nothing either this or the foregoing day, I received very gladly what they gave to me; and this contributed to give me a little reſt the following night. When they came the next day to give me wherewith to break my faſt, I asked for my Books and my Combs. But I ſoon underſtood that they gave the firſt to no body, not even the Breviary to Prieſts; and that the ſecond were no longer neceſſary to me, my hair being immediately cut off; which is done to all the Priſoners of what condition or ſex ſoever, the firſt day that they enter into theſe *Holy Priſons*, or on the morrow at the lateſt.

I muſt here for ſome time interrupt the account of what particularly reſpects my ſelf, to deſcribe ſuccinctly this houſe, with the Orders and Formalities that are obſerved in it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Deſcription of the Inquiſition of Goa.

THE Houſe of the Inquiſition, which the *Portugueze* call *Santa Caſa*, that is, the Holy Houſe, is ſcituated on one ſide of the great ſpace which is before the Cathedral Church Dedicated to St. *Catherine*. This Houſe is great and magnificent, having in its front 3 Gates, that in the middle is larger than the other, and it is by this that they aſcend into the great Stair-caſe which leadeth into the Hall before mentioned. The Gates on the ſides lead to the apartments of the Inquiſitors, of which every one is large enough to lodge a reaſonable train. There is within it diverſe other apartments for the Officers of the Houſe; and in paſſing farther, may be ſeen a large Building divided into diverſe Lodgings, in two Stories, ſeparated the one from the other by Back-courts. There is in every Stage a Gallery, one ten foot ſquare; and the number of theſe Chambers may be in all two hundred.

The little Cells of one of theſe Dormitories are dark, without any Window, lower and leſſer than the others; and they ſhew'd me them one day, when I complained that I was treated with too much rigour, to let me know that I might have been worſe provided than I was. The others are ſquare, vaulted, whited, private, and enlightned by means of a little grate Window, which ſhutteth not; and to which the talleſt man cannot reach. The Walls are throughout 5 foot thick; every Chamber is ſhut with two doors, the one on the inſide, and the other on the outſide of the Wall; that within conſiſts of two folding leaves, is ſtrong, well bolted, and opened from the lower part like a grate. It hath in the upper part a little Window, by which the Priſoners receive their Meat, their Linnen, and other things whereof they have need, and which can paſs through it. This Window hath a little ſhutter to it, which is ſhut with two ſtrong bolts. The door which is on the outſide of the Wall, is not ſo ſtrong nor ſo thick as the other, but is whole, and without any Window; they leave that ordinarily open from ſix in the morning to eleven, that the Wind may enter in by the Clefts of the other door, and ſo the air of the Chamber may be purified.

CHAP. X.

In what manner the Priſoners of the Inquiſition are treated.

THey give to every one of thoſe, whom their unhappineſs leads into theſe Holy Priſons, an Earthen Pot full of Water to waſh themſelves; another more convenient of thoſe which are called *Gurguleta*, alſo full of Water to drink, with a Pucaro or Cup made of a kind of fine earth, which is commonly found in the *Indies*, and which cooleth the Water admirably well, after it hath ſtood in it for ſome while. They give them alſo a Broom to keep their Chamber clean; a Mat to ſpread upon the floor where they lye; a great Baſon which is changed every four days, and a pot to cover it; which ſerveth alſo to put the filth in which is ſwept up. The Priſoners are there pretty well treated, they have three Meals in a day, that is, Breakfaſt at ſix a Clock of the morning, Dinner at ten, and Supper at four a Clock in the evening. The breakfaſt of the *Negroes* is ordinarily Cange, which is Water thickned with Rice. For their other Meals they always make uſe of Rice and Fiſh. The *Whites* or *Europeans* are better treated. They carry to them in the morning a little ſoft bread, weighing about 3 Ounces, with fried Fiſh, Fruits, and a Sauſage, if it be *Sunday*, and ſometimes alſo upon *Thurſday*. They gave them alſo fleſh to dinner on theſe two days, with a little bread as in the morning; a Plate of Rice with ſome *Ragout*, and much ſawce, to mingle with the Rice which is boiled only with Water and Salt. On all other days they have nothing to Dinner but Fiſh, for Supper they bring to them in like manner Bread, fried Fiſh, a Plate of Rice, and a *Ragout* of Fiſh or of Eggs, whoſe ſawce may be eaten with the Rice. As for fleſh, they never make uſe of it to Supper, not even upon *Eaſterday*. I think that this way of life is not obſerved ſo much out of ſparingneſs, fiſh being a very good commodity in the *Indies*, as for to mortifie the more thoſe who have incurred the greater Excommunication, and to preſerve them, at the ſame time, from that cruel diſeaſe which the *Indians* call *Mordechi*, which is nothing elſe but indigeſtion, a diſeaſe very frequent and dangerous in theſe Climats; and above all, in a place where no exerciſe is performed.

They take care to give the ſick Perſons all things neceſſary for them. The Phyſicians and the Chirurgeons fail not to viſit them at all requiſite times; and if the ſickneſs grows dangerous, they aſſign Confeſſors to them. But they adminiſter to none within this Holy Houſe, either the Euchariſt, or Extreme Unction. As alſo they never hear Maſs there.

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Thoſe who die within theſe Priſons, are buried in the houſe without any ceremony. And if they are judged worthy of death according to the maxims of this Tribunal; they are digged up, and their bones are kept to be burnt at the next *Act of Faith*. I will relate in another place the particularities of this Ceremony.

As it is always very hot in the *Indies*, and in the Inquiſition no Books are allowed to any perſon, the Priſoners never ſee any fire, nor other light than that of the day. There is in every Cell two Couches to lye upon, becauſe when neceſſity requireth it, they ſhut up two perſons together. Beſides the Matt which is given to every one, the White Men have moreover a Coverlet, which ſerveth inſtead of a Matt, there being no need of it to cover themſelves, unleſs it be to avoid the perſecution of thoſe Flies, which are called *Couſins*, and are there in very great numbers, and which cauſe one of the greateſt inconveniencies, that is to be found in this melancholy retirement.

CHAP. XI.

Wherein is treated of the Officers of the Inquiſition.

THere is at *Goa* two Inquiſitors. The firſt whom they call *Inquiſidor mor*, or the great Inquiſitor, is always a Secular Prieſt, and the ſecond a Religious, of the Order of St. *Dominick*. The Holy Office hath alſo Officers, whom they call *Deputies of the Holy Office*; theſe are in greater number. There is of all Religious Orders: They aſſiſt at the Trial of the accuſed perſons, at their examination and forming of their Proceſs; but they never come into the Tribunal without being ſent for by the Inquiſitor.

There are others, whom they call *Calificadores of the Holy Office*; to whom they aſſign the care of examining in Books, the propoſitions which they ſuſpect to be contrary to the purity of Faith. And theſe aſſiſt not at the Trials, nor come to the Tribunals, but only their report concerning the things which are committed to their charge.

There is moreover a Promoter, a Procurator, and Advocates for the Priſoners who deſire them, who ſerve not ſo much to defend them, as to pump out their moſt ſecret thoughts, and to betray them: And even although there ſhould be no reaſon to doubt of their fidelity, their protection would yet be wholly unuſeful to the accuſed perſons, ſince thoſe Advocates never ſpeak to them but in the preſence of the Judges, or of perſons whom they ſend to give an account of theſe Conferences. The

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Inquiſition hath other Officers, whom they call *Familiars of the Holy Office*, who are properly the Sergeants of this Tribunal. Perſons of all conditions are ambitious to be admitted into this noble function, altho they be Dukes or Princes. They employ them to go and arreſt accuſed perſons; and they are wont ordinarily to ſend a *Familiar* of Quality for him whom they would apprehend. Theſe Officers have no wages, and they eſteem it ſufficient recompence to have the honour to ſerve ſo holy a Tribunal. They carry always as a mark of Honour, a Medal of Gold, upon which are engraved the Arms of the Holy Office. They go alone when they intend to arreſt any one; and as ſoon as they have declared to any perſon that they are called by the Inquiſitors, every one is obliged to follow thom without replying; for if any one ſhould in the leaſt reſiſt, the whole multitude of people would not fail to lend their aſſiſtance for the execution of the Orders of the Holy Office. Beſides all theſe Officers, there are alſo Secretaries, true Sergeants, whom they call *Meirinhos*, an *Alcaide* or Jaylor, and guards to watch over the Priſoners, and bring them their meat, with other things neceſſary.

CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Officers of the Inquiſition behave themſelves towards the Priſoners.

AS all the Priſoners are ſeparated, and that it ſeldom happens that two are put together, four perſons are more than ſufficient to guard two hundred. They cauſe a perpetual ſilence to be in the Inquiſition; and thoſe who would lament themſelves, weep, or even pray to God too loud, put themſelves in danger of receiving blows, with a Switch, from the Guards; who at the leaſt noiſe which they hear, run to the place whence it cometh to give them notice to be ſilent; and if Obedience be wanting to the ſecond command, they open the Doors, and beat the Priſoners without mercy; which ſerveth not only to correct thoſe which they chaſtize in this manner, but alſo to terrifie the reſt, who all hear the cries and the blows, by reaſon of the profound ſilence which is obſerved every where. The Alcaide and the Guards are continually in the Galleries, and they lye there all night.

The Inquiſitor, accompanied with a Secretary and an Interpreter, viſiteth all the Priſoners from two to two months, or thereabouts, for to ask them if they want any thing; whether their Meat be brought to them at the preſcribed hours, and whether they have not any complaints

to

to make againſt the Officers which are about them. As ſoon as anſwer is made upon theſe 3 Articles they immediately ſhut the door. In truth, theſe Viſits are made only to ſet forth that Juſtice and Goodneſs whereof they make Oſtentation in this Tribunal, but produce not the leaſt profit or aſſiſtance to the Priſoners who make their Complaints, ſince they are not at all the more kindly treated. Thoſe among the Priſoners who poſſeſs any proper Goods, are no whit better treated than thoſe who have none; and they furniſh to the laſt neceſſaries from what is confiſcated from the others. For the Holy Office very ſeldom fails to confiſcate all the Goods, moveable and immoveable, of thoſe who have the misfortune to fall into their hands.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Formalities which are obſerved in the Inquiſition.

WHen any perſon is brought before the Inquiſition, they firſt of all ask him his Name, his Profeſſion, or his Quality; then they exhort him to give an exact account of all his Goods; and to induce him the more eaſily to it, they ſignifie to him on the part of Jeſus Chriſt, that if he be innocent, all which he ſhall have declared to be his, ſhall be faithfully reſtored to him; and that on the contrary, even although his innocence ſhould be clearly proved, all which could be afterwards diſcovered to belong to him, which he had not acknowledged, ſhould remain confiſcated, and be loſt to him. And becauſe almoſt all perſons are prepoſſeſſed with an Opinion of the Holineſs and Integrity of this Tribunal; a perſon to whom his own Conſcience reproacheth not any Crime, not doubting but that his innocence will be demonſtrated, and that conſequently his liberty will be reſtored to him, maketh no ſcruple to reveal to theſe Inquiſitors whatſoever is moſt ſecret, and of greateſt importance, within his Affairs and whole Family.

It is not without ſome apparant reaſon that the Publick is prepoſſeſſed in favour of this Tribunal; for to conſider only the external part of it, there is no Judicature in the World wherein Juſtice is exerciſed with greater Sweetneſs and Charity. Thoſe who accuſe themſelves of their own accord, and who teſtifie their Repentance before they are apprehended, remain free, and are not liable to be Impriſoned; it is true, that they there look upon ſuch as Criminals, who accuſe not themſelves before their Impriſonment, and that they condemn them as ſuch: But they never puniſh any perſon with any temporal puniſhment which proceed-

eth to Death, except those who are manifestly Convicted. They are not contented there with two or three Witnesses, as in other *Laick* Judicatures, for to look upon an accused person as a Convicted Criminal; and although two Witnesses suffice to decree the apprehension of any man, it is required that there be, at least, seven to condemn him. How enormous soever the Crime be, whereof the accused person is a reputed Convict, the Holy Office content it self with the Ecclesiastical punishment of Excommunication, and the Confiscation of his Goods. And in respect of Temporal and Corporal punishments, for which the Criminal is owing to the *Laick* Justice, if he acknowledgeth his Crime, he is quitted for that time: The Holy Office intercedes for him, suspends the Secular Arm, and obtaineth pardon for the Criminal. Neither are there any exhortations, or instances, which they will not make to produce this acknowledgment; it is true, that if he relapseth into his Crime, the Inquisition cannot any longer save him, but she abandons him unwillingly, and delivers him not to the Secular Arm, till after she hath obtained of the Lay Judges, that if they persist in their resolutions of punishing the relapsed Criminal with Death, it shall be, at least, without effusion of blood; what gentleness is this?

But after having said all which can be alledged in favour of the Holy Office, we must add some Circumstances, which will manifest what is to be expected from this apparant goodness and charity. The Witnesses are never confronted; they receive for Witnesses all sorts of persons, even those who are interessed in the life and condemnation of the accused person. They never admit any objection to be made by the accused against Witnesses the most notoriously unworthy of being heard, and most uncapable of deposing against him. The number of these Witnesses is ofttimes reduced to five; they comprehend in the number of these Witnesses the pretended Complices, who depose only in time of torture, and who can save their lives no otherwise than by confessing that which they never did. And in this number of seven, the pretended guilty person is comprehended, who confessing in torture the crime which he never committed, is reputed a Witness against himself. Oftentimes, also, this number of seven is reduced to none, because it is composed only of pretended Complices, who are truly innocent of the crime which they impose upon them; and whom the Inquisition renders truly criminal, in forcing them either by threats of fire, or by torture, to accuse the innocent to save their own lives. For to understand well this Mystery, we are to know, that among the ruines which the Inquisition hath right to take cognizance of, there are some which may be committed in that manner, that one alone is guilty, as Blasphemy, Impiety, *&c.* There are others which cannot be committed without having

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It is particularly in reſpect, and upon occaſion of theſe Crimes, which cannot be committed but with one or more Complices, that the proceedings of the Holy Office are more ſtrange and more extraordinary. The *Jews* having been driven out of *Spain* by *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, and *Iſabelle* Queen of *Caſtile*, his Wife, they fled into *Portugal*, where they were received upon condition of embracing Chriſtianity, which they did, at leaſt in appearance. But as the name of *Jew* is odious throughout the whole World, they always diſtinguiſhed the Chriſtian Families from the Families of the converted *Jews*; and they at this day call thoſe who are deſcended from them, in any degree whatſoever, *Chriſtams novos*, that is to ſay, New Chriſtians. And becauſe in proceſs of time, ſome have contracted alliance with the Ancient Chriſtians, they upbraid it continually to their Succeſſors, that they partly *New Chriſtians*, which the *Portugueze* expreſs, by ſaying, *tem parte de Chriſtam novo*. Inſomuch, that although their Grandfathers, or Great Grandfethers were Chriſtians, theſe unhappy perſons ſhall never be able to obtain admiſſion into the number of *Chriſtams Velhos*, or *Ancient Chriſtians*. And as the Families, which are deſcended thus directly, or in part from theſe *Jews*, are diſtinctly known in *Portugal*, where they make the object of the hatred and horrour of others; they are forced to unite themſelves more ſtrictly together, to render to each other that mutual aſſiſtance which they cannot hope for from others. And it is this very union which augmenteth the contempt and hatred of them; and which is the ordinary cauſe of their misfortunes.

CHAP. XIV.

Of the Injuſtice which is committed by the Inquiſition, in reſpect of Perſons accuſed of Judaiſm.

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FOr to illuſtrate this matter well, I will ſuppoſe, that a new Chriſtian, but who nevertheleſs is very ſincerely and truly a Chriſtian deſcended from theſe unfortunate Families, is arreſted by order of the Holy

ly Office; and that he is accuſed not only by ſeven Witneſſes, but by fifty, if you will. This man who is aſſured of his own innocence, which he hopeth will be undoubtedly acknowledged, maketh no ſcruple to give to his Judge an exact declaration of all his goods; which he believeth will be faithfully reſtored to him. Nevertheleſs theſe Gentlemen no ſooner get them into their Hands, but they ſell them publickly, as being well aſſured that they ſhall never reſtore any thing.

Some months being paſſed, this Man is called to Audience, for to ask him, if he knows why he is put in Priſon; to which he fails not to anſwer, that he knoweth no reaſon: He is then exhorted to conſider ſeriouſly, and to tell them; ſince this is the only means ſpeedily to recover his Liberty; after which he is remitted to his Lodgings. He is again brought to Audience ſome time after, and is asked diverſe times in the ſame manner, without drawing any other anſwer from him. But at laſt the time of the *Laute Dafe* approaching, the Promotor preſents himſelf, and declares to him, that he is accuſed by a good number of unexceptionable Witneſſes to have Judaized; which conſiſteth in obſerving the Ceremonies of the *Moſaick* Law, as not to eat Swines Fleſh, an Hare, or Fiſh without Scales; to have aſſembled with others and ſolemnized the Sabbath day: to have eaten the Paſchal Lamb, and ſo in the reſt. He is then conjured by the Bowels of the Mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt (for theſe are the proper terms which they affect to uſe in this Holy Houſe) voluntarily to confeſs his Crimes; ſince this is the only means which remain for him to ſave his Life: and that the Holy Office ſeeketh all poſſible means not to ſuffer him to deſtroy himſelf. This innocent Man perſiſteth in denying what is charged on him, and hereupon he is condemned as a *Negative Convicted* Perſon, (that is to ſay, one who is convicted, but will not confeſs his Crime) to be delivered up to the Secular Arm, to be puniſhed according to the Laws, that is, for to be burnt.

Yet they never diſcontinue to exhort him to accuſe himſelf; and provided that he do it before the Eve of his being led forth to Execution, he may yet avoid death. But if he perſiſt to proteſt his Innocence, maugre all Exhortations, Sollicitations, and even Torture it ſelf, which are uſed to oblige him to accuſe himſelf; at laſt they ſignifie to him the Decree of his Execution on the *Friday*, which immediately precedeth the *Sunday* of his being carried forth. This ſignification is made in preſence of a Serjeant of the Secular Juſtice, who caſteth a Cord upon the Hands of the pretended Guilty Perſon, in token that he taketh poſſeſſion of him, after that the Eccleſiaſtical Juſtice hath abandoned him; after that a Confeſſor is brought in, who never leaveth the condemned Perſon either Night or Day: who never ceaſeth to preſs him particularly, and exhort

exhort him to confeſs that whereof he is accuſed, that he may thereby ſave his Life. An innocent Man muſt needs then find himſelf in a great perplexity. If he continueth to deny till *Sunday*, he is cruelly put to death the ſame day; and if he accuſeth himſelf, he becometh infamous and miſerable for his whole Life. Nevertheleſs, if the Exhortations of his Confeſſor, and the fear of the Puniſhment, induce him to confeſs Crimes which henever committed, he muſt deſire to be carried to Audience, which fails not to be immediately granted. Being there in preſence of his Judges, he muſt firſt declare himſelf Guilty, and then ask pardon as well for his Crimes, as his Obſtinacy, in refuſing ſo long to confeſs them. And as they always imagine, they have reaſon to believe they accuſe themſelves ſincerely, they oblige him to relate all his faults and errours particularly: And ſo this innocent man, to whom they have already ſignified the diſpoſitions of his enemies, not being able to perform what is required of him, is forced to repeat that, which he had before heard told to him. This man may then, perhaps, imagine that he ſhall be wholly quitted; but there remain things to be done by him incomparably more difficult than all which he hath hitherto done; for the Inquiſitors fail not to ſpeak to him very near, in this manner. If you have been at the Aſſemblies upon the Sabbath day, as you ſay; and that your accuſers have been there preſent, as is very probable; for to convince us of the ſincerity of your repentance, it is neceſſary that you name not only thoſe who have accuſed you, but moreover all thoſe who have been with you at theſe Aſſemblies.

It is not eaſie to diſcover the reaſon which induced *Meſſieurs* of the Holy Office, to oblige theſe pretended *Jews* to gueſs the Witneſſes which have accuſed them; unleſs it be that the Witneſſes of aſſembling in the Sabbath are complices of the fact. But how ſhall this poor innocent be able to gueſs? And if he ſhould be guilty, for what end is it that he muſt name them to the Holy Office, which already knows them, ſince ſhe hath received their depoſition, and that it is only upon account of this depoſition that ſhe thus treateth the accuſed perſon as guilty? In all other caſes they permit not that the Criminals ſhall know their Witneſſes, againſt whom they would have objections to alledge; here they force them to gueſs who they are. They are Complices, I grant it; but the Inquiſition will not a bit the better know them after the accuſed perſon ſhall have named them. If they accuſe themſelves voluntarily, the Inquiſition hath no more to ſay to them. If they have been forced to confeſs their crimes in the Priſons of the Inquiſition, they are there ſtill where they were before; and it concerns not the Holy Office to make the accuſed perſon gueſs their names; himſelf will not become thereby the more innocent, nor they the leſs guilty. The accuſed

perſon and the witneſſes are equally in the power of the Inquiſition; what is then the Deſign and Intereſt of theſe Judges? Unleſs it be to cauſe that this man ſhould accuſe all his Complices in ſeeking to gueſs out his Witneſſes. This may ſerve for ſomewhat if he be truly guilty, but if he be not, this neceſſity of gueſſing cannot but involve the Innocents; and ſo it happens, for this poor new Chriſtian being forced to name people whom he knows not, to the Inquiſition, who knows them (ſince without that, the confeſſion of a crime, whereof he is innocent, would nothing avail him, to ſave him from the fire.) Reaſons very near thus. It muſt neceſſarily be, that thoſe who have accuſed me, ſhould be of my kindred, of my friends, of my neighbours; and laſtly, ſome of the new Chriſtians, whoſe company I have wont to frequent: For the ancient Chriſtians are never almoſt accuſed or ſuſpected of Judaiſm. And it may be that theſe perſons have been reduced to the ſame condition wherein I am at preſent; it is neceſſary therefore that I accuſe all round about me: and as it is not poſſible that I ſhould gueſs punctually, and in order, thoſe who have depoſed againſt him, to find out the ſix or ſeven perſons who have accuſed him, he is neceſſarily obliged to name a great number of innocent perſons who had never thought of him; againſt whom, nevertheleſs, himſelf becomes a Witneſs by his declaration, which is ofttimes ſufficient to cauſe them to be arreſted, and keep them in the Priſons of the Holy Office, till with time they can get ſeven Witneſſes againſt them, as againſt him, whom I have already ſuppoſed; which will be ſufficient to cauſe them to be condemned to the fire.

CHAP. XV.

Wherein is farther treated of the Formalities, which are obſerved in the Inquiſition.

IT is eaſie to know by what hath been already ſaid in the precedent Chapter, that theſe miſerable Victims of the Inquiſition mutually accuſe one another; and that a man may by this means be very innocent, although he hath fifty Witneſſes againſt him, and yet this man as innocent as he is, for want of accuſing himſelf, or of gueſſing well, is delivered to the Executioners as ſufficiently convicted; which would never happen, or at leaſt very ſeldom, if they took care to confront the accuſers, witneſſes, and accuſed perſons.

All which is practiſed againſt perſons ſuſpected of Judaiſm, and all which hath been hitherto ſaid, is to be underſtood alſo of perſons become

come ſuſpected of Sorcery; becauſe they are ſuppoſed to have been preſent at thoſe ſuperſtitious aſſemblies which I before mentioned. And here the difficulty of naming their pretended complices and accuſers is much greater, becauſe they are not as the New Chriſtians, to ſeek their witneſſes, and their complices, in a certain ſpecies of men. But it is neceſſary that they find them at a venture, and indifferently, among their whole acquaintance, friends, kindred, enemies, neuters of all profeſſions, which takes in many more innocents into theſe fortuitons and forced accuſations; becauſe they muſt name a greater number, ſo to meet in this multitude of innocents with the witneſſes, concerning whom they are asked.

The Goods both of thoſe who are puniſhed with Death, and of thoſe who avoid it by their confeſſion, are equally confiſcated; becauſe they are all reputed guilty. And as the Inquiſitors deſire not ſo much their Lives as their Goods, and that according to the Laws of the Tribunal, they deliver none over to the Secular Arm but relapſed perſons, and thoſe who will not ſubſcribe to their Accuſations; theſe Judges uſe all poſſible Arts to induce the Priſoners to confeſs, not forgetting to rack them, to force them to it. They are alſo ſo merciful as to Rack theſe accuſed perſons in a moſt violent manner, for to ſave their Lives in forcing them to confeſs the Crimes whereof they are accuſed; but the true reaſon which makes them ſo paſſionately deſire that one ſhould accuſe himſelf, is that a man having confeſſed himſelf guilty, the World hath no longer any reaſon to doubt that his Goods were juſtly confiſcated: And becauſe remitting the puniſhment of Death to theſe pretended Criminals, they dazle the eyes of the Simple with an apparant Goodneſs and Juſtice, which contributes, not a little, to preſerve the Idea commonly entertained of the holineſs and gentleneſs of this Tribunal; without which Artifice, it could not any long time ſubſiſt. It will not be amiſs here to let the Reader know, that thoſe who have thus eſcaped the fire by their forced Confeſſion, when they are out of the Priſon of the Holy Office, are ſtrictly obliged to publiſh that they were treated with much goodneſs and clemency, ſince their life was preſerved to them, which they had juſtly forfeited. For if a man who having confeſſed himſelf guilty, ſhould afterwards preſume to juſtifie himſelf after his enlargement, he would be immediately accuſed, arreſted, and burnt at the firſt *Act of Faith*, without any hope of pardon.

CHAP. XVI.

Other kinds of Injuſtice which are ordinarily committed in the Inquiſition.

IF Chriſtians are often put to death falſly accuſed, and ſlenderly convicted of having Judaized; as the Judges of the Holy Office would themſelves ſoon acknowledge, if they would take the pains to examine the matter without prejudice, and conſider, that among an hundred Perſons condemned to the Fire, as *Jews*, there are ſcarce found four who profeſs this Law at their death, the reſt crying out and proteſting to their laſt breath, that they are Chriſtians, that they have been ſo all their Lives, that they adore Jeſus Chriſt as their only and true God, and that it is wholly upon his Mercies and the Merits of his adorable Blood that they found all their hopes. but the cries and declarations of theſe unhappy Perſons, if we may ſo call them, who ſuffer for not acknowledging a Lye, cannot in the leaſt move theſe Gentlemen, who imagine that this authentick Confeſſion of their Faith, which ſo great a number of People make in dying, deſerveth not to obtain the leaſt reflection; and who believe that a certain number of Witneſſes, whom the ſole fear of Fire hath induced to accuſe very innocent Perſons, will be a reaſon ſtrong enough to defend them from the juſt vengeance of God. If, I ſay, ſo many Chriſtians paſſing for *Jews* are unjuſtly delivered up to Execution in all the Inquiſitions, there are no leſs, nor fewer acts of Injuſtice performed in the *Indies*, againſt thoſe who are accuſed of Magick and Sorcery, and as ſuch condemned to the Fire. For to illuſtrate this, we are to obſerve that the Gentiles, who in Paganiſm obſerved a very great number of ridiculous Superſtitions; to know, for example, the ſucceſs of an Affair, or of a diſeaſe, whether one is loved by a certain Perſon, who ſtole away any thing which is loſt, and for other reaſons of this nature: that theſe Gentiles, I ſay, cannot ſo well, nor ſo readily forget all theſe things, but that they put them often in practice after they are Baptized; which will be thought leſs ſtrange if we conſider that in *France*, where the Chriſtian Religion hath been eſtabliſhed for ſo many Ages, there may be yet found ſo many Perſons who give belief to, and uſe theſe impertinent Ceremonies, which ſo long a time hath not cauſed to be forgotten. Farther, that thoſe Gentiles newly Converted to the Faith, have paſſed the greater part of their Life in Paganiſm, and that thoſe who live in the States of the King of *Portugal* in the *Indies*, are Subjects or Slaves, who ordinarily change not their Religion, but in hope

of

of being better treated by their Lords and Masters; nevertheless these sort of Faults which in gross and ignorant Persons, would methink deserve rather the Whip than the Fire, cease not to be expiated by this cruel punishment in all those who are convicted, according to the maxims of this Tribunal the second time, if they confessed the first time; or the first time, if they persisted to deny the Fact. And the Inquisition punisheth not only Christians, who fall, or who are accused to have fallen into the cases, whereof it hath right to judge, but also Mahometans, Gentiles, and other Stranges of whatsoever Religion they be, who have committed any of these Crimes, or who have performed any exercise of their Religion in the Countreys subject to the King of *Portugal*. For altho the Prince granteth Liberty of Conscience, the Holy Office having the Interpretation of this Commission, consenteth indeed that Strangers should live in their Religion, but punisheth those as guilty who perform any exercise of it. And as in the Lands of the *Portugueze* Dominion in the *Indies*, there are many more Mahometans and Gentiles than Christians, and that the Inquisition which punisheth the relapsed Christians with death, never inflicteth Capital Punishment upon those who never received Baptism, altho they should relapse an hundred times into the same Fault; and that at the most they are quitted for Banishment, the Whip, or the Gallies; this fear of living condemned to the Fire hinders many from embracing Christianity. And the Holy Office far from being useful in these Countreys to the Propagation of the Faith, serveth for nothing else but to drive People from the Church, and create in them an abhorrence of it.

The perpetual Succession of Accusations, which necessarily follow, all which I have hitherto related, and the liberty which every one taketh, of freely accusing those who are his Enemies, causeth that the Prison of the Inquisition are never long time empty, and tho the Acts of Faith are made at the latest from two to two, or from three to three years, there fail not nevertheless to appear in every one about two hundred Prisoners, and sometimes more.

CHAP. XVII.

Some particulars concerning the Officers of the Inquisition.

IN all the Countries of the *Portugueze* Dominions, there are four Inquisitions, to wit, in *Portugal* those of *Lisbon*, *Conimbra*, and *Devora*,

ra, and in the *East Indies* that of *Goa*. These Tribunals are all Supreme, and judge without Appeal all those matters which happen within the extent of their bounds. That of *Goa* extendeth its Jurisdiction over all the Countrys possessed by the King of *Portugal*, beyond *the Cape of Good Hope*. Beside these four Tribunals, there is also *the great Council of the Inquisition*, wherein prefideth the Inquisitor General; this Tribunal is the chief of all others, and is informed of all which is done by the others. Beside the Honour, the excessive Authority, and the Pensions annexed to the Charges of all the Inquisitors, they draw thence also a considerable profit two ways. The first, then when they cause the effects of the Prisoners to be publickly sold; by which means, if there be found any thing rare and precious, they need only send some of their Domesticks to cheapen it; and it is certain that no body will dare to be so bold as to bid above him: Whence it happens often that things are adjudged to him at half of their just value.

The second mean, by which they may yet more considerably gain, is, that the price of the confifcated Goods being brought into the Royal Exchequer, they have power to send orders when they will, and for what summs they please, to supply the expences and secret necessities of the *Holy Office*; which is paid to them ready down, without that any person dare enquire wherein these secret necessities consist, insomuch as almost all which comes from these confiscations return to them one way or other.

All the Inquisitors are named by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, from whom they receive their Bulls. There is no man at *Goa*, but the Grand Inquisitor, who hath or claimeth the right of being carried in a Chair. Much greater respect is given to him than either to the Arch-bishop or Vice-Roy; and the Governours when the Vice-roy is dead. His Authority extends over all sorts of persons, Laick and Ecclesiastick, except the Arch-bishop, his Grand Vicar, who is always a Bishop; the Vice-roy, and the Governours, when the Vice-roy is dead; although he can cause even them to be arrested, after he hath given advice of his intention to the Court of *Portugal*, and hath received secret Orders of the supreme Council of the Inquisition at *Lisbon*, called *Conselho Supremo*. This Tribunal assembleth not but from fifteen to fifteen days, unless somewhat extraordinary intervenes, which may oblige them to meet more frequently; whereas the ordinary Councils are regularly assembled twice a day, in the morning from eight of the Clock to eleven, and in the afternoon from two to four, and sometimes later; especially when the times of the *Acts of Faith* draw near, for then the Audiences are ofttimes prolonged till ten at night.

When

When they judge Cauſes, beſides the Deputies which aſſiſt, the Arch-Biſhops or Biſhops of the places where the Inquiſition is eſtabliſhed, have a right to be preſent at the Tribunal, and to preſide therein all the judgments which are made. But it is time to return to what particularly relates to my ſelf.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what manner I was led the firſt time to Audience, and what they ſaid to me.

THey had given me notice when I was firſt ſhut up in the Priſons of the Holy Office, that whenſoever I ſhould have need of any thing, I need only knock ſoftly at the door to call the Guards, or deſire it of them at the hours of meals; and that when I would go to Audience, I muſt addreſs my ſelf to the *Alcaide*, who, as well as the Guards, never ſpake to the Priſoners without a witneſs. They had alſo given to me hopes, as I before ſaid, that my Liberty ſhould immediately follow my Confeſſion. For this reaſon I ceaſed not to importune the Officers that I might be carried before my Judges: But with all theſe tears and entreaties, I could not obtain this favour till the laſt of *January* 1674.

The *Alcaide* accompanied with one of the Guards, came to me upon this account, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon. I habited my ſelf according to his Directions, and went out of my Cell, my Head, Leggs, and Feet being naked. The *Alcaide* went before me and the Guard followed me. We marched in this order to the very door of the Chamber of Audience, where the *Alcaide* having advanced a little and made a profound reverence, ſtept back to let me enter alone. I found there, as before, the Inquiſitor and the Secretary. I fell down at firſt upon my knees; but having received order to ariſe and ſit down, I ſeated my ſelf upon a Bench which was at the end of the Table on the ſame ſide with my Judge. Near me upon the end of the Table laid a Miſſal; upon which before we proceeded any farther, they made me lay my hand and promiſe to keep ſecreſie and ſpeak the Truth: which two Oaths are exacted of all thoſe who approach this Tribunal, whether it be for to depoſe or to receive any Order. They then asked me if I knew the cauſe of my impriſonment, and whether I were reſolved to confeſs it. To which having anſwered that I deſired nothing more, I recited exactly all which I before related in the beginning of this Narrative, touching Baptiſm, and Images, without ſaying any thing of what

I had

I had advanced concerning the Inquiſition, becauſe I did not then remember it. My Judge having farther asked me whether I had nothing elſe to ſay, and being told that this was all which I remembred, far from reſtoring my Liberty to me, as I had hoped, finiſhed this Audience with theſe very words.

That I had done very wiſely in accuſing my ſelf ſo willingly, and that he exhorted me on the part of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, fully to confeſs the reſt of my Accuſations, to the end that I might make proof of the Goodneſs and Mercy which are uſed in this Tribunal, towards thoſe who ſhew a true repentance of their Crimes, by a ſincere and unforced confeſſion.

My Confeſſion and his Exhortation being finiſhed and written down, they read it to me, and I ſigned it; after which the Inquiſitor rung the Bell to call the *Alcaide*, who carried me out, and brought me back into my Chamber in the ſame order, in which I had gone.

CHAP. XIX.

My ſecond and third Audience.

I Was carried the ſecond time before my Judges without deſiring it, the 15th of *February*, which made me believe that they had ſome deſign to free me: As ſoon as I came in they asked me anew, whether I had nothing more to ſay, and exhorted me to diſguiſe nothing, but on the contrary ſincerely to confeſs all my Faults. I anſwered, that how great care ſoever I had taken to examine my ſelf, I could not call to mind any other thing than what I had already confeſſed. At laſt they asked me my Name, that of my Father, Mother, Brother, Grandfathers and Grand-mothers, God-fathers and God-mothers; whether I were a *Chriſtam de oito dias*, that is to ſay, *a Chriſtian of eight days*, becauſe in *Portugal* they baptize not Children till the eighth day after their Birth; as alſo Women in Child-bed go not out, nor go to Church, till forty days after their delivery, how happy ſoever that may have been. My Judge ſeemed to be ſurprized, when I told him that this Cuſtom of deferring the Baptiſm of Children till the eighth day was not obſerved in *France*, where they Baptized them as ſoon as could be: and it ſufficiently appears from the obſervance of theſe Legal Ceremonies, that notwithſtanding the Averſion which the *Portugueze* teſtifie againſt the *Jews*, they are nevertheleſs no very refined Chriſtians. But this is not the greateſt evil which reſulteth from the obſervation of theſe Ceremonies. For

firſt,

firſt, it happens but too often that Children dye without being regenerated by the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, and are thereby deprived of Heaven for ever; and not to violate the Cuſtom of Purification, which ought no longer to be continued after the publication of the Goſpel, the *Portugueze* Women make no ſcruple to contemn the commands of the Church, which oblige all Chriſtians to be preſent at *Sunday*, and on the Feaſts of the Holy Sacrifice of the Maſs, if they be not prevented by lawful impediments.

They alſo asked me the name of the Curate who had Baptized me? in what Dioceſs? what Town? what Pariſh? and laſtly, whether I ever were Confirmed? and by what Biſhop? Having ſatisfied all theſe Queſtions, they commanded me to kneel down, to make the ſign of the Croſs, to repeat the Lords Prayer, the *Ave-Mary*, the Creed, the Commandments of God, and of the Church, and the *Salve Regina*; laſtly, he finiſhed as at the firſt time, by exhorting me through the Bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to confeſs without delay; which being read in my preſence, and ſigned by me, I was remitted to my Chamber.

From the firſt moment that I had been in this Priſon I had been always melancholly, and never ceaſed to ſhed tears; but at my return from this ſecond Audience, I entirely abandoned my ſelf to all grief, ſeeing that they exacted of me the things which appeared impoſſible to me, ſince my memory ſuggeſted to me nothing of that which they deſired I ſhould confeſs. I endeavoured then to end my life by hunger, I received indeed the meat which they brought to me, becauſe I could not refuſe it, without expoſing my ſelf to receive baſtinadoes from the Guards, who take great care to obſerve, when the Plates are returned to them, whether the Priſoners have eaten enough to ſuſtain Nature: But my deſpair ſuggeſted to me means of eluding their diligence: I paſſed whole days without eating any thing, and that they might not perceive it, I caſt into the Baſin part of what they gave me. This courſe of diet was the cauſe that I was entirely deprived of ſleep, and my whole employment conſiſted in mortifying my Body, and ſhedding tears. However, I omitted not in this time of my Affliction, to reflect upon the errours of my paſt life, and to acknowledge that it was by a juſt Judgment of God, that I had fallen into that depth of miſery and unhappineſs. I proceeded alſo ſo far as to believe that he intended perhaps to make uſe of this mean to call me to himſelf, and convert me. Having a little fortified my ſelf by ſuch meditations, I implored with my whole heart, the aſſiſtance of the Bleſſed Virgin, who is no leſs the conſolation of the afflicted, than the Aſylum and refuge of Sinners; and from whom I have ſo viſibly experienced protection, as well during my impriſonment, as

upon other occaſions of my life, that I could not omit to render this publick teſtimony of it.

At laſt, after I had made a more exact, or a more happy examination of all which I had ſaid or done, during my ſtay at *Daman*, I called to mind what I had advanced concerning the Inquiſition, and its Integrity; I immediately deſired audience, which yet was not granted to me till the ſixteenth of *March* following. I doubted not, but in appearing before my Judge, to terminate all my affair; and that upon my confeſſion, which I intended to make, they would immediately reſtore me to perfect Liberty, but then when I thought my hopes at the point of being compleated, I ſaw my ſelf at once depriv'd of all theſe ſweet hopes; becauſe having confeſſed all which I had to ſay touching the Inquiſition, they told me that this was not that which they expected of me; and I having nothing elſe to ſay, was immediately remitted, without ſo much as their vouchſafing to write down my Confeſſion.

CHAP. XX.

How Deſpair induced me to attempt my life.

I Am now come to the moſt unhappy time of my Captivity; for how ſevere ſoever it had hitherto been, I had, at leaſt, the comfort of having ſuffered with ſome patience, and even of having endeavoured to make a good uſe of my Sufferings; for the Faith obligeth us to believe that the greateſt Evils are ſo many Advantages, to thoſe who make good uſe of them I ought not therefore to look upon this as an unhappy time any more than that wherein I committed faults, which I cannot but conſider as very great, and which I pretend not to juſtifie, or even to excuſe, by the cruelty of thoſe who required of me impoſſible things, on pain of burning, ſince they carry not along with them ſo great extremity as may juſtifie deſpair, which is the greateſt and worſt of all Evils.

I was once reſolved not to ſpeak of, in this place, the deſpair which ſeized me, nor the endeavours of deſtroying my own life, to which I was induced by it; but it was believed it would be important to give this account, ſince it cannot be denied that the unjuſt ſeverities of the Inquiſition give at leaſt occaſion to many to fall into the ſame condition: And that it concerneth the publick to make known not only the evil of the unjuſt actions conſidered in themſelves, but alſo the horrible evils which

which are the too ordinary conſequences of them. For if perſons who have Learning and Education, who are inſtructed in their duties, and who never forſake the conſiderations of Faith fall into ſuch extremities; what may not be feared from ſo many ignorant perſons without Education, the greateſt part of them new Converts from Paganiſm, where they have almoſt all their life looked on Deſpair as an Act of Generoſity. I confeſs, that the ill ſucceſs of my laſt audience, which I had believed would be ſo favourable for me, was an inſupportable blow to me, and that thenceforth accounting Liberty to be an happineſs to which I could no longer pretend; I abandoned my ſelf ſo far to Melancholly and Deſpair, that I wanted but little of entirely loſing my Reaſon:

I had not forgot that it is forbidden to a man to deſtroy himſelf, and I had no deſign to deſtroy my ſelf eternally, but I deſired to live no longer; and the extreme deſire which I had to dye, troubled me ſo far, that I invented a mean, in the midſt of my Deſpair, which might effectually procure my Death, and a natural Death, ſince I could not reſolve to lay violent hands upon my ſelf; and I imagined that God would pardon me if I procured it ſlowly, and by the means of others. I feigned then to be ſick, and to have a Fever; they immediately brought to me a *Pandite*, or a Gentile Phyſician, who made no ſcruple to be convinced from the motion of my blood within my Pulſe, which he took for a true Fever, and ordered me to be let blood, which was reiterated for 5 days together; and as my intention in uſing this Remedy was very different from that of my Phyſician, who laboured to recover my health, while I thought of nothing but ending this miſerable and unhappy life. As ſoon as every one was retired, and my door was ſhut, I untied the Fillet, and ſuffered ſo much blood to run out as might fill a Cup containing at leaſt 18 Ounces. I reiterated theſe cruel evacuations as often as I was blooded, and withal, eating almoſt no food, it is not hard to judge that I was reduced to extreme weakneſs.

The *Alcaide* who obſerved ſo conſiderable a change in my Body, could not ſufficiently wonder at the ill condition wherein I was, which admitted ſcarce any hope of recovery. The *Pandite* was in the ſame aſtoniſhment, which obliged them to advertiſe the Inquiſitor, who propoſed to me to be confeſſed. As I did not believe my ſelf to be in a condition of eſcaping death, I began to reſent what I done, and being unwilling to deſtroy Soul and Body both together, I conſented to receive a Confeſſour. They brought to me a good Religious of the Order of St. *Francis*, to whom having given an entire knowledge of my proceeding, I received much conſolation from him: His good Advices made me take a reſolution of contributing as much as I could to the recovery of my Health, I gave him leave to inform the Inquiſitor ſecretly of

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all which had happened : And from that day which was Holy *Friday*, they gave to me, with all care, all things neceſſary for the ſpeedy recovery of my ſtrength, which I had loſt with my Blood ; and for to ſweeten my Melancholly a little, wherewith I was overwhelmed, they ſhut up with me another Negro Priſoner, who was accuſed of Magick, and who kept me company for five months. I enjoyed, during all this while, more command of my reaſon, and was leſs melancholly ; but as ſoon as they imagined me to be well recovered, they withdrew my Companion, and the loſs of this comfort made me relapſe into the ſame condition, to which I had been at firſt reduced.

CHAP. XXI.

New exceſſes to which my deſpair carried me.

I Became more furious than ever by the abſence of my Companion ; I beat my Breaſt and my Face with my Fiſt, and not contented with that, ſought means to take away my Life, which I could not loſe by my former attempt. I believed well that I ſhould not ſucceed in Counterfeiting Sickneſs a ſecond time ; and even if I ſhould really be believed, if they opened me a Vein they would take all poſſible precaution to hinder me from loſing my Blood a ſecond time. This is the reaſon why being animated with my deſpair, I remembred that notwithſtanding the diligent ſearch which had been made upon me, when I was ſhut up, I had ſaved ſome pieces of Gold which had been ſown in a Ribband tied about the Calf of my Leg, in form of a Garter. I took then one of thoſe pieces which I broke in two, and ſharpened one part ſo well, and ſo long againſt an Earthen Pot, that I gave it a point, and made it cut on both ſides. This I made uſe of as a Launcet, with deſign to open the Arteries of my Arm. I took for this end all neceſſary precautions ; I thruſt it into my Arm as far as was poſſible ; but notwithſtanding all my cares I could not effect what I intended ; and inſtead of the Arteries I opened only the Veins that are above them.

Being reſolved no longer to keep any meaſure, I contented not my ſelf with drawing out my Blood by degrees. I let both my Arms bleed, till growing faint I laid my ſelf down in my Blood, wherewith the Chamber was filled. And it is certain that if God by a particular mercy had not directed, that at that very time the Door ſhould be opened to bring me ſomewhat neceſſary, in a time when it was not ordinary for the Guards to come, I had miſerably loſt both my Life and my Soul. I leave you

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to imagine the ſurprize of the Guards when they ſaw me in this condition. They immediately called the *Alcaide*, and all together came in. They bound up my Arms and uſed ſuch Skill that I ſoon returned out of that ſwoon, wherein ſo conſiderable an evacuation of Blood had reduced me. They firſt carried this news to the Inquiſitor, who ordered they ſhould lead me to Audience, whether I was carried at four a Clock.

Lying at length upon the Ground, my extreme weakneſs not permitting me either to ſtand or ſit, the Inquiſitor, after many reproaches, commanded them to carry me away, and put Manacles upon me to hinder me from pulling off the bands wherewith my Arms were bound up; this was immediately put in execution, and I had not only my hands chained, but alſo a Collar of Iron that was joyned to the Manacles, and was ſhut with a Padlock, inſomuch as I could not any longer move my Arms.

But this proceeding ſerved only to enrage me the more, I threw my ſelf upon the ground; I ran my Head againſt the Walls and Pavement. If they had ſuffered me to continue never ſo little while in this condition, my Arms would infallibly have been unbound, and I could not have avoided death: But as they kept a ſtrict eye upon me, they perceived, very well, by my actions, that ſeverity was not ſeaſonable; and that it were better to try ways of ſweetneſs; they took off my Irons therefore, and endeavoured to comfort me with deceitful hopes. They changed my Chamber, and once more gave me a Companion, who had order to anſwer for me; nevertheleleſs God who had always preſerved me from ſo great an unhappineſs, diſſipated, by his Grace, the deſpair wherein I was plunged. More happy herein than many others, who often Murder themſelves in the Priſons of the Holy Office, where theſe unhappy perſons are debarred all ſorts of humane comforts. My new Companion ſtayed with me about two months, and as ſoon as they perceived me to be more peaceable he was taken away, although my weakneſs was then ſo great, that I could ſcarce riſe from my Bed to receive my Meat at the door, which was ſet not above two paces from it. At laſt, after I had paſſed a year in this manner, by ſuffering much, I even contracted a habit of ſuffering; and God, after that, gave me patience enough not to make any more attempts upon my life.

CHAP. XXII.

My fourth Audience, in which the Promotor formeth againſt me Concluſions of ſuffering Death.

I had been now almoſt eighteen months in the Inquiſition, when my Judges underſtanding that I was in a condition to anſwer, cauſed me to be brought the fourth time to Audience, where they asked me whether I were, at laſt, reſolved to confeſs what they had ſo long expected from me, to which I anſwering, that I could remember nothing elſe than what I had already confeſſed; the Promotor of the Holy Office preſented himſelf with a Libel, to ſignifie to me the informations made againſt me.

In all my other examinations I had been accuſed, and they had contented themſelves to hear my depoſition without entring into any diſcourſe with me; and were immediately wont to ſend me back as ſoon as I had ended the accuſation of my ſelf, but in this fourth examination I was accuſed, and time was given me to defend my ſelf; and they read to me in the Informations made againſt me, the things whereof I had accuſed my ſelf. The Facts were three, I had acknowledged them of my own proper motion. There was then nothing to oppoſe concerning the Facts themſelves, but I thought it my duty to demonſtrate to my Judges, that they were not ſo Criminal as they imagined; I ſaid then upon the account of what I had diſputed concerning Baptiſm, my intention was not in the leaſt to oppoſe the Doctrine of the Church: But that the paſſage, *Unleſs a man be born again of Water and of the Holy Ghoſt, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven* (*John* 3. 5.) appearing to me very expreſs, I had deſired the explication of it. The Grand Inquiſitor ſeemed ſurprized at this Paſſage, which all the World knows by heart, and I was no leſs ſurprized at his ſurprize. He asked me where I had that Paſſage? from the Goſpel of St. *John*, ſaid I, the third Chapter, and the fifth Verſe. He cauſed a new Teſtament to be brought, looked for the Paſſage, but explained it not to me; it had been, nevertheleſs, eaſie to tell me that Tradition explained it ſufficiently, ſince they always accounted to be Baptized, not only thoſe who had ſuffered Death for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, without receiving the ordinary Ceremonies of Baptiſm, but alſo thoſe who had been ſurprized by Death in the deſire of being Baptized, and in Repentance of their ſins.

Concerning the adoration of Images, I told him that I had advanced nothing which I had not taken from the Holy Council of *Trent*, and cited to him the paſſage of the 25th Seſſion, concerning *the Invocation of Saints, and Holy Images. The Images of Chriſt, of the Mother of God, and of other Saints, are to be retained; and due Honour and Reverence is to be paid to them, ſo that through their Images to which we fall down proſtrate, we may adore Chriſt, and venerate the Saints, whoſe likeneſs they bear.* My Judge ſeemed much more ſurprized at this than at the former Citation, and having ſearched it in the Council of *Trent*, he ſhut the Book without explaining the Paſſage to me.

Imagines Chriſti, Deipara Virginis & aliorum Sanctorum retinendas, iiſq; debitum honorem & venerationem impertiendam, ita ut per imagines eorum quibus procumbimus, Chriſtum adoremus, & Sanctos quorum illæ ſimilitudinem gerunt, veneremur. *Seſſ.* 25.

There is ſomewhat incomprehenſible in this degree of Ignorance, in the perſons who undertake to judge others in Matters of Faith; and I confeſs that I ſhould have hardly believed theſe Facts my ſelf although I ſaw them, and very well remember them, if I had not learnt by the printed Relations of Mr. *Tavernier*, that how reſerved ſoever Father *Ephraim de Nevers* were, upon what reſpecteth the Inquiſition, which had made him ſuffer ſo much, he could not forbear to ſay, that nothing had been more unſupportable to him than the ignorance of its Miniſters.

The Promotor in reading the Information, had ſaid, that beſides all this which I had acknowledged, I was moreover accuſed, and ſufficiently convicted of having ſpoken with contempt of the Inquiſition, and its Miniſters, and of having held diſreſpectful diſcourſes concerning the Pope, and againſt his Authority; and concluded, that the obſtinacy which I had hitherto manifeſted in contemning ſo many delays and charitable admonitions, which had been given to me, was a convincing proof that I had very pernicious deſigns, and that my intention was to teach and foment *Hereſie*; that conſequently, I had incurred the puniſhment of greater Excommunication, that my Goods ought to be confiſcated to the Kings Exchequer, and my ſelf be delivered to the Secular Power, to be puniſhed for my Crimes according to the Laws, that is, for to be burnt.

I leave the Reader here to imagine what effect theſe cruel concluſions of the Promotor of the Holy Office produced in my Soul. Yet I can aſſure you that how terrible ſoever theſe words were, the death wherewith I was then threatned, appeared to me much leſs formidable than the continuation of my Slavery; ſo that notwithſtanding the trouble and grief which ſeized me, upon theſe concluſions pronounced againſt me, I failed not to anſwer to the new Accuſations which were e-

ven now ſignified to me, that in reſpect of my Intentions, they had never been bad, that I had always been a zealous Catholick, that all thoſe with whom I had converſed in the *Indies* could teſtifie the ſame, particularly Father *Ambroiſe*, and Father *Yues*, both *French* Capuchins, who had diverſe times heard me in Confeſſion: And I underſtood after my departure, that Father *Yues* was actually at *Goa* at the ſame time when I alledged him as a Witneſs of my Innocence; that I had gone ſixteen Leagues to ſatisfie the duties of *Eaſter*; that if I had nouriſhed any Hereſie in my Heart, it had been very eaſie for me to propagate it in thoſe parts of the *Indies*, where any one may live and ſpeak with perfect freedom, and that I would not then have choſen my Habitation in the Dominions of the King of *Portugal*; that I was ſo far from Dogmatically oppoſing Religion, that I had on the contrary entred diverſe times into diſpute with the Hereticks for to defend it; that indeed I remembred my ſelf to have ſpoken with too much Liberty of that Tribunal, before which I then pleaded, and of the Perſons which poſſeſſed it; but that I was ſurprized they ſhould make that a Crime, which had been treated as a trifle, when I would have confeſſed it, almoſt a year and an half ſince; that for what concerned the Pope, I remembred not to have ſpoken of him in that manner which my Accuſations inſinuated; that nevertheleſs if they would tell me the particulars of it, I would ſincerely confeſs the truth.

The Inquiſitor taking me up, told me, that time ſhould be given me, to conſider of what reſpected the Pope, but that he could not ſufficiently admire my Impudence, in that I pretended to have confeſſed what related to the Inquiſition, when it was moſt certain that I had not opened my mouth about it, and that if I had made any Confeſſion upon this Article, in that time when I pretended to have made it, I had not continued ſo long time in Priſon. I remembred ſo perfectly what had been ſaid, and what had been anſwered to me, and I was moreover ſo tranſported with anger to ſee my ſelf ſo abuſed, that if they had not immediately commanded me to be taken away, as ſoon as I had ſigned my Depoſition, I ſhould not perhaps have contained my ſelf from reproaching my Judge; and if I had enjoyed as much force and liberty as my Paſſion gave me Courage, it may be he ſhould not have eſcaped with reproachful words.

CHAP. XXIII.

They carry me yet ſeveral times to Audience: Diverſe Obſervations upon the Proceedings of the Inquiſition.

I Was yet called to Audience three or four times in leſs than a Month, and they urged me to confeſs that whereof I had been accuſed concerning the Pope. They alſo ſignified to me a new proof, which the Promoter pretended he had drawn againſt me upon that ſubject, but which contained nothing different from what he had already urged againſt me; but what clearly demonſtrates this Accuſation to have been only a falſity invented on purpoſe to make me confeſs, is that they would not tell me the particulars of what they pretended I had ſpoken; but at laſt perceiving it impoſſible to draw any thing of that nature from me, they ceaſe to mention it to me; and that this Article was not inſerted in my Proceſs, when it was publickly read in the *Act of Faith:* They endeavoured alſo in their laſt Audience to make me acknowledge that in the Facts whereof I had been accuſed, my intention was to defend Hereſie; but to this I would never condeſcend, there being nothing more contrary to truth.

During the Months of *November* and *December*, I heard every morning the cries of thoſe who were put upon the Rack; which is ſo cruel a torture, that I ſaw diverſe Perſons both of the one and the other Sex, who were diſtorted and maimed by it, and among others the firſt Companion they had aſſigned to me in the Priſon. In this Holy Tribunal no reſpect is made of Quality, Age, or Sex, and all are indifferently ſubmitted to the torture, when the Intereſt of the Inquiſition ſo requireth it.

I remembred to have heard it ſaid, before I entered into the Priſons of the Holy Office, that the *Auto dafe*, or *Act of Faith* was ordinarily performed the firſt *Sunday* in *Advent*, becauſe on that day is read in the Church that part of the Goſpel, wherein mention is made of the laſt Judgment, and that the Inquiſitors pretend, by this Ceremony, to make a Lively and Natural repreſentation of it. I was moreover perſwaded that there were then a great number of Priſoners in the Inquiſition. The profound ſilence which is every where obſerved in this Houſe, had given me Opportunity to count very near how many Doors were opened at the hours of repaſt. I had alſo obtained a pretty certain knowledge that there was arrived an Arch-Biſhop at *Goa*, in the Month of *October*, after that See had been vacant near 30 years; becauſe they

had extraordinarily rung the Bells at the Cathedral for nine days together, which neither the universal Church, nor that of *Goa* in particular Celebrates any remarkable Festival; and because I knew this Prelate was expected even before my Imprisonment. All these Reasons made me hope that I should be set at liberty in the beginning of *December*, but when I saw the first and second *Sundays* of *Advent* passed, I doubted not but that either my Liberty or my Punishment were at least deferred for another intire year.

CHAP. XXIV.

How I perceived that the Auto dafe *was to be performed on the morrow, and what Habits were given to us to appear in this Ceremony.*

AS I perswaded my self that the *Auto dafe* was never performed but in the month of *December*, when I saw the whole month spent without observing any preparation to that terrible Ceremony, I determined to suffer yet one year longer; nevertheless when I expected it least, I found my self to be in the eve of my inlargement from that long Captivity, wherein I languished two years.

I observed that on *Saturday* the 11th of *January*, 1676, being about to give my Linnen after Dinner to the Officers to be washed, after the usual Custom, they would not receive it, but put me off till the next day; I failed not to make a great many reflexions upon the cause of this extraordinary refusal; and not finding any which satisfied me, I concluded that the *Act of Faith* was probably to be performed the next day; but I confirmed my self much more in my Opinion, or rather I held it for most certain, when after I had heard it ring to *Vespers* at the Cathedral, it immediately rung to *Mattins*; which was never before done while I was Prisoner, except upon the eve of *Corpus Christi* day, which is celebrated in the *Indies* upon the *Thursday*, which immediately follows *quasi modo Sunday*, because of the continual Rains which fall there at that time when it is celebrated in *Europe*.

They brought me my Supper, which I refused, and which contrary to their ordinary custom, they pressed me not very much to receive. As soon as the doors were shut upon me, I entirely abandoned my self to those melancholly thoughts which possessed me; and at last, after many tears and sighs, overwhelmed with sorrow and imaginations of death, I fell asleep, a little after Eleven a Clock at Night.

I had not been long asleep, when my sleep was interrupted on the sudden by the noise which the Guards made in opening my door. I was surprized to see persons enter into my Cell with light, being not before accustomed it, and the time of the night contributed to redouble my apprehension. The Alcaide gave me an habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to be ready to go out when he should come to call me, and so withdrew, leaving in my Chamber a Lamp burning.

I had not upon this occasion either strength to rise, or to make any answer to him; and from the instant that these men quitted me, I was seized with an universal and so violent a trembling, that for more than an hour it was not possible for me so much as to look upon the habit which they had brought me. At last I arose, and prostrating my self upon the ground before a Cross which I painted upon the Wall, I recommended my self to God, and abandoned my fortune to his protection. Then I put on the habit, which consisted of a Vest whose sleeves came down to the wrist, and a pair of Drawers which reached to the very heels; the whole made of black stuff, striped with white.

CHAP. XXV.

Of the Preparations to the Act of Faith, and the diverse Ornaments which are distributed to the Criminals, according to the diversity of their Crimes.

I Had not long time to wait after I had taken the habit which was left for me. These Gentlemen, who had come the first time a little before Midnight, returned at Two a Clock of the morning into my Chamber; out of which they led me into a long Gallery, where I found a good number of my Companions in misery, ranged round about against the Wall; I put my self into my place, and there came yet diverse after me.

Although there were near 200 men in this Gallery, as all observed a most profound silence, that in this great number there were not above 12 *Europeans*, who could hardly be distinguished among the others, and that all were as my self, cloathed with black stuff. One might have easily taken all these persons for so many Statues set against the Wall, if the motion of their eyes, the use of which alone was permitted to them, had not testified them to be living Creatures. The place wherein we were thus assembled was enlightned only by a little number of Lamps, whose light was so obscure, that this joyned to so many black, melancholy,

choly, and afflicted objects, seem'd to be no other than a preparation for the Celebration of some Funeral.

The Women who were Vested with the same stuff with us, were in the next Gallery, where we could not see them; but I observed that in a Dormitory a little remote from ours, there were also other Prisoners, and persons Vested in Black, and some in a long habit, who walked up and down. I knew not then what this meant, but I learned after a few hours, that those who were to be burned were there, and that the persons who walked about were their Confessors.

As I knew not then the formalities of the Holy Office, whatsoever desire I had in time past to dye, I then feared to be of the number of those who were destined to the Flames; yet I recovered courage in a little time, when I considered that I had nothing in my habit which distinguished me from others, and that there was no likelihood that so great a number of persons, who were apparrelled like my self, should be put to death together.

After we were all ranged against the Walls of this Gallery, they gave to every one of us a Taper of yellow Wax: They then brought to us other Habits to put over the former, made like Declinaticks, or great Scapularies; they were of yellow stuff, with St. *Andrews* Crosses painted on them in red, before and behind. They are wont to give these sort of marks to those who have committed, or who are esteemed to have committed Crimes against the Faith of Jesus Christ, whether they be Jews, Mahometans, Sorcerers, or Hereticks, who were before Catholicks; they call these *Grand Scapularies* with these Crosses of St. *Andrew Sambenito's*. Those who are accounted Convicted, and who persist to deny the Facts whereof they are accused, or who are relapsed, bear another kind of Scapulary, called *Samarra*, whose ground is grey; the Picture of the Prisoner is represented to the life upon it, both before and behind, placed upon burning Torches, with Flames rising up, and Devils round about; their Names and their Crimes are written at the bottom of the Picture, but those who accuse themselves after Sentence is pronounced upon them, and before they are carried out of their Chamber, being no relapsed persons, bear upon their *Samarras* flames Inverted, which they call *fogo Revolto*, that is, fire Inverted.

Sambenito's were distributed to twenty of the *Blacks* who were accused of Magick, and to one *Portugueze*, attainted of the same Crime, who moreover was a *New Christian*.

As they would Revenge themselves upon me by halfs, and that they were resolved to insult over me to the end, they forced me to put on a like Habit to that of the Sorcerers and Hereticks, although I had always made Profession of the Catholick, Apostolick, and *Roman* Faith, that which

which my Judges might eaſily have known from an infinite number of Perſons, as well Strangers, as of mine own Nation, with whom I had lived in divers parts of the *Indies*.

My fears redoubled when I ſaw my ſelf thus habited, becauſe it ſeemed to me that theſe being among ſo great a number of Priſoners, no more than two and twenty perſons to whom theſe ſhameful *Sambenito's* were given, it might very well happen that theſe ſhould be the perſons to whom no mercy was to be extended.

After this diſtribution five Bonnets of Paper were brought in, riſing up in a point like a Sugar Loaf, all covered with Devils and flames of fire, with a writing round about expreſſing this word, *feiticero*, that is, *Sorcerer*, they call theſe Bonnets *Carochas*; they ſet them upon the heads of ſo many perſons the moſt guilty of all the reſt among thoſe as were accuſed of Magick, and as thoſe perſons ſtood very near me, I then believed they would not fail to preſent one to me alſo, which yet did not happen. I did then make no doubt almoſt but theſe miſerable men were thoſe perſons deſigned to be burnt; and as themſelves were no better inſtructed at that time in the formalities of the Holy Office, I was aſſured by them afterwards, that at that moment they believed their deſtruction to be Inevitable.

Every one being thus adorned according to the quality of his Crimes, we were permitted to ſit down on the ground in expecting new orders; at four of the Clock of the morning the Servants of the Houſe came following the Guards, for to diſtribute Bread and Figs to thoſe who would accept them; but although I had not ſupped the night before, I found in my ſelf ſo ſmall an appetite for eating, that I had taken nothing, if one of the Guards coming near me had not ſaid take your Bread, and if you cannot eat it now put it into your Pocket, for you will be certainly hungry before you return. The words of this man brought great comfort to me, and diſſipated all my fears by the hopes which he gave of my return, which obliged me to follow his advice.

At laſt, after we had waited a long while, the day appeared at five a Clock; and I might then obſerve upon the faces of every one preſent, the diverſe motions of ſhame, of grief, and of fear, wherewith they were then tormented: For although they felt no ſmall joy in ſeeing themſeves upon the point of being delivered from ſo cruel and inſupportable a Captivity, yet this joy was very much diminiſhed, by the fear wherein every one was of what would become of himſelf.

CHAP. XXVI.

How we went in Proceſſion to go to the Act of Faith. *The Order of this Ceremony.*

THE great Cell of the Cathedral Church was rung a little before the riſing of the Sun, which was as the Signat to advertize the people to run together to ſee the Auguſt Ceremony of the *Auto dafe*, or *Act of Faith*; and firſt, they made us go out one by one. I obſerved in paſſing from the Gallery into the great Hall, that the Inquiſitor ſat at the door, having a Secretary by him; that the Hall was filled with Inhabitants of *Goa*, whoſe names were written in a Liſt, which he held in his hands; and that at the ſame time any Priſoner was brought forth, they called one of theſe Gentlemen who were in the Hall, who immediately came up to the Criminal for to accompany him, and ſerve him as a Godfather in the *Act of Faith*.

Theſe Godfathers receive the perſons in charge whom they accompany, are obliged to anſwer for them, and to produce them when the Feſtival is ended; and *Meſſieurs* the Inquiſitors, pretend to do them great honour when they chooſe them for this Office. I had for Godfather the General of the *Portugueze* Ships in the *Indies*; I went out of the Hall with him, and as ſoon as I was in the Street, I ſaw that the Proceſſion began by the Order of the *Dominicans*, who have this noble priviledge, becauſe St. *Dominick* their Founder, was alſo of the Inquiſition. They were preceded by the Banner of the Holy Office, wherein the Image of the Founder is repreſented in very rich embroidery, holds a Sword in one hand, and in the other a branch of Olive, with this Inſcription, *Juſtitia & Miſericordia*. Theſe Monks are followed by the Priſoners, who march one after the other, having every one his Godfather at his ſide, and a Taper in his hand. Thoſe who are leſs guilty go firſt; and as I paſſed not for one of the more innocent, there were more than a hundred preceded me. I had, as all the reſt, my head and feet naked, and I was very much troubled during all this March, which continued for an hour almoſt, becauſe of the little flint ſtones wherewith the ſtreets of *Goa* are ſcattered, which made my feet bleed abundantly. They made us walk through all the greater ſtreets, and we were gazed on by an innumerable croud of people, who had run together from all parts of the *Indies*, and who lined all the ſtreets through which we were to paſs; for they took care to give notice to the Pariſh Prieſts in the Pariſhes of more remote places, a long time before the *Act of Faith* was performed.

formed. At laſt, covered with ſhame and confuſion, and very weary of the march, we arrived at the Church of St. *Francis*, which for this time was deſtined and prepared for the *Act of Faith*. The great Altar was ſpread with black; and there were upon it ſix Silver Candleſticks, with ſo many Tapers of white Wax burning. There were raiſed on the ſides of the Altar two kind of Thrones, the one on the right hand for *Monſieur* the Inquiſitor and his Councellors, the other on the left for the Viceroy and his Court.

At ſome diſtance, and over againſt the great Altar, inclining a little towards the door, was placed another, whereon were laid two Miſſals open. From thence to the door of the Church was made a Gallery about three foot broad, with a Baliſter on each ſide, and both on one ſide, and the other were placed Benches for the Criminals and their Godfathers to ſit on, who accordingly ſeated themſelves in order as they entred into the Church, inſomuch as thoſe who came in firſt, ſat very near the Altar.

As ſoon as I was entered and placed in my Rank, I applied my ſelf to conſider the order, which they made thoſe obſerve who came after me. I ſaw that thoſe, to whom thoſe horrible Carochas of which I ſpake, were given, marched laſt in our whole Troop; that immediately after them a great Crucifix was carried, whoſe Face reſpected thoſe who marched before; and which was followed by two living Perſons, and four Statues of the height of a Man, repreſented very naturally, fixed every one to the end of a long Pole, and accompanied with ſo many little Cheſts, born each by a Man, and filled with the bones of thoſe whom theſe Statues repreſented. The Face of the Crucifix turned toward thoſe who went before it, ſignifieth the mercy which is uſed in reſpect of them, in delivering them from death, although they had juſtly deſerved it: and the ſame Crucifix turning the back upon them that followed it, ſignifieth that thoſe unfortunate Perſons have no more favour to hope for. For ſo it is that all is myſterious in the Holy Office.

The Habits wherewith theſe miſerable Perſons were veſted, were no leſs capable of ſtriking horror and pity into the Beholders; as well the living Perſons as Statues bore a Samarra of Grey Stuff, all painted over with Devils, Flames, and burning Fire-brands, upon which the Head of the Priſoner was repreſented to the life before and behind, with his Sentence written below, bearing an Abridgment, and in great Characters his Name, that of his Countrey, and the Crime for which he was condemned. Beſide this terrible Habit they had alſo upon their Heads thoſe dreadful Carochas, covered, as their Veſtments, with Flames and Devils. The little Coffers, wherein were incloſed the Bones of thoſe who were dead, and againſt whom Proceſs had been made, either

before

before or after their deceaſe, during or before their Impriſonment, that ſo occaſion might be given to the Confiſcation of their Goods, were painted with black, and covered alſo with Devils and Flames.

It muſt be here obſerved that the Inquiſition terminates not its Juriſdiction upon living Perſons, or upon thoſe who died in her Priſon; but that ſhe ſometimes formeth a Proceſs againſt Perſons, who died many years before they were accuſed, then when after their deceaſe they are charged with any great Crime, that in this caſe, if they be convinced, they are digged up, their Bones are burned at the *Act of Faith*, and all their Goods are Confiſcated, whereof thoſe are carefully deſpoiled who have inherited them: And I advance nothing which I have not ſeen practiſed; ſince among the Statues, which were ſeen when I came out of the Inquiſition, there was one which repreſented a man dead a long time before, whoſe Proceſs they had formed, whoſe Body they had digged up, and whoſe Goods were Confiſcated, and his Bones burnt, or it may be thoſe of ſome other who had been buried in the ſame place.

CHAP. XXVII.

Containing what was obſerved in the place wherein the Act of Faith *was celebrated.*

THeſe unhappy Perſons being entered in that dreadful Equipage, which I have already deſcribed, and being ſeated in their places, which were appointed for them near the door of the Church, the Inquiſitor followed with his Officers, entered and went to place himſelf upon the Tribunal which was erected for him upon the right ſide of the Altar, while the Viceroy and his Court ſeated themſelves upon the left. The Crucifix was placed upon the Altar between the ſix Candleſticks. Every one being thus ſetled in his Poſte, and the Church filled with as many People as it could contain, the Provincial of the *Auguſtinians* aſcended the Pulpit, and Preached for half an hour. Notwithſtanding the anxiety of mind wherein I then was, I failed not to obſerve the compariſon which he then made of the Inquiſition, with the Ark of *Noah*, between which yet he found this difference, that the Animals which entered into the Ark, went out again after the Deluge, inveſted with the ſame Nature which they had when they entered in: But that the Inquiſitor had the admirable property to change in ſuch ſort thoſe who are ſhut up it, that in coming out we ſee thoſe to be as Lambs, who when they

they entred in, had the cruelty of Wolves, and the fierceneſs of Lions. The Sermon being finiſhed, two Readers went up one after another into the ſame Pulpit, to read there publickly the Proceſs of all the Criminals, and to ſignifie to them the puniſhments to which they were condemned. He whoſe Proceſs was read, was during that time lead by the Alcaide into the middle of the Gallery, where he ſtood upright, holding a Taper lighted in his hand, till his ſentence was pronounced. And as it was ſuppoſed that all the Criminals had incurred the puniſhment of greater Excommunication, they led us to the foot of the Altar whereon laid the Miſſals; where being placed on our knees, they made us lay our hands upon one of theſe books, and remain in that poſture, till there was as many perſons as Miſſals. Then the Reader diſcontinued reading of the Proceſs, to pronounce with a loud voice a Confeſſion of Faith, after he had briefly exhorted the Criminals to repeat it with heart and mouth at the ſame time with him; which being done, every one returned to his place, and the reading of the Proceſs was began anew.

I was called in my order, and underſtood that all my affair ran upon theſe three heads. The firſt, for having maintained the invalidity of the Baptiſm, called *Flaminis*. The ſecond, for having ſaid that Images ought not to be adored, and having blaſphemed againſt the Image of the Crucifix, in ſaying of a Crucifix of Ivory, that it was a piece of Ivory. And laſtly, for having ſpoken contemptuouſly of the Inquiſition, and its Miniſters; but above all, for the ill intention which I had in ſpeaking all theſe things. For which Crimes I was declared Excommunicate; and for reparation thereof my Goods were confiſcated to the Kings account, and my ſelf baniſhed from the *Indies*, and condemned to ſerve in the Gallies of *Portugal* five years; and moreover, to perform other Penances which ſhould be enjoyned to me in particular by the Inquiſitors.

Of all theſe puniſhments, the moſt inſupportable to me, was to ſee my ſelf in an indiſpenſable neceſſity of quitting the *Indies*, where I had reſolved to Travel a yet much longer time. This ſorrow, nevertheleſs, was not ſo great, but that it was much allayed by the hope of ſeeing my ſelf ſhortly out of the hands of the *Holy Office*. My Confeſſion of Faith being made, I returned to my place, and received advantage from the advice which my Guard had given me of not refuſing my Bread, for the Ceremony continuing all the day, there was no perſon who did not that day Dine in the Church.

CHAP. XXVIII.

They Abſolve us from Excommunication, and deliver thoſe to the Secular Power who were to be burned: What was obſerved upon this occaſion.

AFter they had ended to read the Proceſs of all thoſe to whom they extended their mercy in ſaving their lives, the Inquiſitor left his ſeat to put on his *albe* and *ſtole*; and being accompanied with about 20 Prieſts, who had every one a Wand in his Hand, he came into the middle of the Church, where after he had made diverſe Prayers, we were Abſolved from the Excommunication, which they pretended we had incurred, by means of a blow which the Prieſt gave to every one of us upon his Habit. I cannot forbear to relate here a thing, which will ſhew to what degree the *Portugueze* Superſtition proceeds in all things which have any relation to the Inquiſition; which is, that during the Proceſſion, and the whole time of our ſtay in the Church, he who ſerved me as a Godfather would never anſwer to me, although I had ſpoken to him diverſe times, and that he even refuſed to give a little Powder of Tobacco which I had deſired of him; ſo much did he fear to be involved in the Cenſure wherewith he ſuppoſed me bound. But as ſoon as I was Abſolved, he embraced me, gave me Tobacco, and told me that he then acknowledged me for his Brother, ſince the Church had Abſolved me.

This Ceremony being ended, and the Inquiſitor returned to his place, they brought out one after the other thoſe unhappy Victims who were to be Sacrificed by the Holy Inquiſition. There were a man, a Woman, and the repreſentation of four dead men, with the little Cheſts wherein their Bones were incloſed. The Man and Woman were *Indian Blacks* and Chriſtians, accuſed of Magick, and condemned as relapſed. Of the four Statues, two repreſented alſo two men, held for convicted of Magick, and the two others two men who had been new Chriſtians, and were accuſed to have Judaized; of which the one had died in Priſon, the other in his own Houſe, and had been buried long ſince in his Pariſh; but being accuſed of Judaiſm after his Death, as he had left very conſiderable Riches, they took care to pluck him out of his Grave, and take away his Bones to burn them at the *Act of Faith*, after they had formed a Proceſs againſt him. We may ſee hereby, that the Holy Office is not contented to attribute to it ſelf the Infallibility of Jeſus Chriſt, but that they would alſo, as well as he, exerciſe their authority upon the Living and the Dead.

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The ſeveral Proceſſes of theſe unfortunate perſons were read, which were all ended with theſe words, That the Inquiſition could not ſhew any mercy to them becauſe of their relapſe and their impenitence, and that finding themſelves indiſpenſably obliged to puniſh them according to the rigour of the Laws, they delivered them to the Secular Arm and Juſtice, whom they earneſtly deſired to uſe Clemency and Mercy towards theſe miſerable wretches; and that if they would impoſe upon them the puniſhment of Death, it might be at leaſt without effuſion of blood. At the laſt words of the Inquiſitors, a Serjeant of the Secular Juſtice approached, and took poſſeſſion of thoſe infortunate perſons; after they had received a light blow upon the breaſt from the hand of the Alcaide of the Holy Office, in token that they were abandoned by him. See the great kindneſs of the Inquiſition to intereeed thus for guilty perſons! The extreme condeſcendance of the Magiſtrates, to chooſe rather in complaiſance to the Inquiſition, to content himſelf to burn theſe Criminals to the very marrow of their their Bones, than to uſe the power which he hath of ſhedding their blood.

Thus was ended, in reſpect of us, the famous ceremony of the *Auto dafe*, or *Act of Faith*; and while theſe miſerable wretches were led along the bank of the River, where the Viceroy and his Court were aſſembled, and where the Piles, upon which they were to be Sacrificed, were prepared the day before, we were led back to the Inquiſition by our Godfathers, without obſerving any order. Although I was not preſent at the Execution of theſe perſons thus abandoned by the *Holy Office*, nevertheleſs as I was fully inſtructed by perſons who have ofttimes ſeen the like Executions, I will here relate, in few words, the ceremony which were there obſerved.

As ſoon as the condemned perſons are arrived at the place where the Secular Judges are aſſembled, they ask them in what Religion they will dye, without informing themſelves, in the leaſt, of their Proceſſes, which they ſuppoſe to have been perfectly well managed, and the perſons moſt juſtly condemned; ſince no doubt is to be made of the Infallibility of the Inquiſition: as ſoon as they have anſwered to this one Queſtion, the Executioner ſeizeth them, and tieth them to Poſts upon the Pile, where they are firſt ſtrangled if they dye Chriſtians, and burnt alive if they perſiſt in Judaiſm or Hereſie; which happens ſo ſeldom, that ſcarce one example is to be ſeen in four *Acts of Faith*, although there are very few in which are not burned a good number of perſons.

The day after the execution, the Images of thoſe who are put to death are brought into the Churches of the *Dominicans*; their Head only is preſented to the Life, placed upon kindled Fire-brands; at the bottom is put their name, that of their Father and their Country, the quality of their

their Crimes for which they were condemned, with the years, the month, and the day of the execution.

If the Perſon who was to be burnt had twice relapſed into the ſame Crime, they put theſe words at the bottom of the Portraict; *Morreo quimodo por bereſe relapſo*, which ſignifieth that he was burned for a relapſed Heretick. If having been accuſed but once, he perſevereth in his error, they put, *Por hereſe contumas*, for an obſtinate Heretick; but as this caſe is very rare, ſo there are very few of theſe Portraicts. Laſtly, if having been thus accuſed but once by a ſufficient number of Witneſſes, he perſiſteth to profeſs himſelf innocent, and at the ſame time profeſſeth Chriſtianity to the very death, they put at the bottom of the Table, *Morreo queimado por bereſe convitto negativo*, which is to ſay, that he was burnt as a convicted Heretick, but who confeſſed not. And of this laſt kind a great number of Portraicts may be ſeen. We may hold it for certain that of an hundred Negatives, there are at leaſt 99 who are not only innocent of the Crimes which they deny, but who have beſide that innocence, the merit of chuſing rather to die, than to tell a lye in confeſſing themſelves guilty of a Crime, of which they are really innocent. For it is not poſſible that a man aſſured to ſave his Life, if he confeſſeth, would perſiſt to deny, and chuſe rather to be burnt than acknowledge a truth, the confeſſion of wnich will ſave his Life. Theſe terrible repreſentations are placed in the Nave of the Church, and over the higheſt door of the Church, as ſo many illuſtrious Trophies conſecrated to the Glory of the *Holy Office*; and when this part of the Church is all over hung, they place them in the ſide Iſles near the door. Thoſe who have been at *Lisbon*, and have ſeen the great Church of the *Dominicans*, which is not far from *the Holy Houſe of the Inquiſition*, may have obſerved many hundreds of theſe ſad Pictures.

CHAP. XXIX.

My laſt enlargement from the Inquiſition. They bring us into a Houſe in the Town, to cauſe us to be there ſome time inſtructed.

I Was ſo weary and ſo ſore at my return from the *Act of Faith*, that I had almoſt no leſs deſire to re-enter into my Lodging to reſt my ſelf, than I had ſome days before to go out of it. My Godfather accompanied me into the Hall; and the Alcaide having conducted me into the Gallery, I went and ſhut up my ſelf, while they brought in the reſt. I firſt caſt my ſelf upon my Bed expecting Supper, which was nothing elſe

elſe but Bread and Figs, the trouble of the day having hindred them from preparing any thing in the Kitchen. I ſlept much better this night, than I had done of a long time, but when the day appeared, I expected impatiently what they would do with me; when the Alcaide came at ſix a clock to demand the Habit which I had wore at the Proceſſion, of me, I would have given him the *Sammelito*, but he would not receive it, becauſe I was to be veſted with it on all Feſtivals and *Sundays*, till I had intirely performed my Sentence. At ſeven a clock they brought my Breakfaſt, and a little after I was warned to pack up all my Goods, and be ready to go when called. I obeyed this order with all poſſible diligence; and at nine a clock a guard having opened my door, I laid my bundle upon my Shoulders, and followed them into the great Hall, where the greateſt part of the Priſoners were already. After I had been there ſome time, I ſaw about twenty enter, who had been the day before condemned to be whipped, and who then received it from the hand of the Hangman through all the Streets of the Town. Being thus all aſſembled, the Inquiſitor appeared, before whom we fell upon our knees to receive his bleſſing, after we had kiſſed the ground near his Feet. Then they commanded the Blacks, who had little or no Luggage, to take up and carry that of the Whites. Thoſe among the Priſoners who were not Chriſtians, were ſent immediately to the places appointed by their Sentence, ſome into Baniſhment, others to the Galleys, or into the houſe where they make Powder, called *Caſa da polvera*; and thoſe who were Chriſtians, as well Whites as Blacks, were led into a Houſe which was hired on purpoſe in the Town, to be there inſtructed for ſome time.

The Halls and the Galleries of the Lodgings were appointed for the the Blacks to lye in, and we Whites were put into a ſeparate Chamber, where they ſhut us up at night, leaving us in the day time the liberty of walking about the Houſe, and ſpeaking with thoſe who were there, or who came from other places to ſee us. Every day two Catechiſings were held, one for the Blacks, and the other for the Whites. Maſs was celebrated every day, at which we were all preſent, as well at morning as at evening.

While I ſtayed in this Houſe I was viſited by a *Dominican* Frier, one of my Friends, whom I had known at *Daman*, where he had been Prior of his Order. This good Father loaded with diſeaſes and years, no ſooner knew that I was enlarged, but he put himſelf into a Pelanquin to come and ſee me; he wept at my diſaſter, and embraced me tenderly, aſſuring me he had been in great fears for my ſake, that he had often inquired concerning my health and my affairs, of Father Procratour of the Priſoners, who was his friend, and of the ſame Order with himſelf;

that nevertheleſs for a long while he could obtain no anſwer from him; and that at laſt, after many ſollicitations, he could draw no more from him than this, That I was ſtill alive. I received great comfort from the ſight of this good Monk, and the neceſſity which was impoſed on me of quitting the *Indies*, created equal ſorrow to us both; he had farther the goodneſs to viſit me ſeveral times, invited me to return to the *Indies* as ſoon as I ſhould be at liberty, and ſent me diverſe Proviſions for the Voyage I was to make, which the condition and neceſſity wherein I then was, permitted me not to hope for from other hands.

CHAP. XXX.

They bring me again to the Inquiſition, to receive the Penances which were impoſed on me.

AFter we had ſtayed in this Houſe till the 23 of *January*, we were conducted once more into the Hall of the Inquiſition, and from thence called every one in his turn to the Table of the Holy Office, to receive there from the hands of the Inquiſitor, a Paper containing the Penances to which it had pleaſed him to condemn us: I went in my order, and was made to kneel down, after I had before laid my hands on the Goſpel, and promiſed in this poſture, to keep inviolable ſecrecy of all things which had happened, and which I had ſeen and obſerved during my impriſonment.

I received after that, from the hand of my Judge, a Writing ſigned by himſelf, containing the things which were to be performed by me; and as this Memoire is not very long, I thought it convenient to put it here word for word for word in *French*, as it was in *Portugueze*.

A Liſt of the Penances which *N. N.* ought to perform.

I. *For the Three next years he ſhall confeſs himſelf, and communicate; the firſt year every month, and the two following years on the Feaſts of* Eaſter, Whitſunday, *and the* Aſſumption of our Lady.

II. *He ſhall hear Maſs and Sermon upon* Sundays *and Holidays, if he hath convenience.*

III. *He ſhall repeat during the ſaid three years, five times every day the* Pater Noſter *and* Ave Maria, *in honour of the five wounds of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.*

IV. *He ſhall never enter into friendſhip, nor have any particular commerce with Hereticks, or perſons whoſe Faith is ſuſpected, who may prejudice his Salvation.*

V. *And*

V. *And laſtly, He ſhall keep exactly the ſecret of all which he hath ſeen, heard, or ſaid, or which hath been acted concerning him, either at the Table, or at any places of the Holy Office.* Signed

Franciſco Delgado ematos.

Having received this Writing I kiſſed the ground, and returned into the Hall, to wait there till the like Writing ſhould be given to all the reſt: In going out they ſeparated us, and I know not what became of the greateſt part of our company, or whither they were ſent. We remained together not above twelve, who were led into the *al Jouvar*, which is that Priſon of the Office, wherein I was put the firſt day that I came to *Goa*, before I entred into the Inquiſition. I ſtay'd there till the 25*th*, when an Officer of the Holy Office clapping Irons upon my feet, carried me into a Ship which was in the Road, ready to ſet ſail for *Portugal*.

CHAP. XXXI.

Containing ſome Obſervations upon all that hath been hitherto ſaid.

BEfore I continue the account of my adventures, I believe it will not be unreaſonable to make ſome reflexions upon all which hath been ſaid. I will begin then by the conſideration of the principal Acts of Injuſtice committed in the Inquiſition: of which the firſt is the Treaſon of the Commiſſary of *Daman*; who, after I had confeſſed to him what I had ſaid, and what relateth to the Holy Office, gave me ſo inſincere advice, that he ceaſed not to arreſt me to ſatisfie the paſſion of the Governour, although the Inquiſition is not wont to apprehend thoſe who voluntarily accuſe themſelves, before they are put in Priſon. I am not ignorant of what this Father ſaid to defend himſelf from this imputation, that I had not accuſed my ſelf in due form; but any one may eaſily perceive that this is a new trick, for he ought to have taught me the form: I was young, and a ſtranger, and ſhould immediately have ſatisfied him, but it was neceſſary for him to make uſe of this miſerable pretext to ſatisfie the Governour.

The ſecond thing of which I think my ſelf to have reaſon to complain, in reſpect of the ſame Commiſſary, is that he maliciouſly kept me at *Daman* till the month of *January*; inſtead of which, if he had ſent me to *Goa*, immediately after my impriſonment, my caſe might have been examined and ended before the end of *November*; and I ſhould have been

been enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, which was performed that very year in the beginning of *December*; whereas not ſending me to *Goa*, till the *Act of Faith* was ended, I was forced to ſtay in the Priſons of the Holy Office two years longer than I ſhould have done; becauſe ſcarce any enlargement of the Priſoners is ever made, but at that terrible Ceremony called the *Act of Faith*; and as that is performed but from two to two, or from three to three years, it is a double unhappineſs for thoſe that are ſhut up in theſe *Holy Priſons*, to be carried thither immediately after this Goal-delivery, becauſe they are obliged to wait there till there be a ſufficient number of Perſons to render the *Act of Faith* more illuſtrious.

The refuſal which the Inquiſitor made at my third Audience to receive my confeſſion, touching what I had ſaid concerning the Inquiſition, and his injuſtice, in daring to maintain that I had not confeſſed this Fact, which he made my Crime ſo long time after, was one of thoſe things which moſt afflicted me, during my Impriſonment, and is none of the leaſt grievances which I have to complain of againſt theſe Meſſieurs.

I might alſo juſtly complain of this, that the Inquiſition deſiring to lay a new ſnare for me, when I accuſed my ſelf of what I had ſaid concerning the Holy Office, and what had happened a long time before to Father *Ephraim Nevers*; asked me if I would defend the errors of that Monk; but although I knew very well that the innocence of this Father had been fully manifeſted, and that he had been arreſted meerly upon Envy; I anſwered that I pretended not to defend any perſon, being ſufficiently troubled to defend my ſelf.

I had moreover methinks all reaſon to believe, that they had an intention to pleaſe the Vice-roy, and Governour of *Daman* his Couſin, in ſending me into *Portugal*, ſince of more than 200 Perſons who went with me out of the Inquiſition, I alone was obliged to leave the *Indies* and go for *Europe*.

The cruelty of the Guards, who often uſed very rude words to me, and forced me unwillingly to eat my Meat, and take remedies when I was ſick, deſerves alſo in my mind ſome conſideration; for although the Guards have reaſon to force the accuſed Perſons to eat their meat and take remedies; they might uſe in reſpect of them the ſame method which is uſed in reſpect of other ſick Perſons, who are not wont to receive the Stirrup Leather, or Baſtinadoes to make them take the Preſcriptions of their Phyſitions.

I will add, that although the Inquiſition granteth ſomething of ſafe Conducts to thoſe, who being in a place of Security will come and accuſe themſelves; yet it is beſt not to truſt them too much, ſince they make no great ſcruple in this Holy Tribunal, to violate the promiſe

which

which they have made, and when they have a mind to it they will find pretexts enough not to keep it, which I will prove by an example.

I knew at *Surat* a Religious Perſon of the Order of St. *Dominick*, called Father *Hyacinthe*, who for many years had quitted his Convent and his Habit, living in a very diſſolute and ſcandalous manner. It happened afterwards that a Woman with whom he had lived a long time, and by whom he had diverſe Chrildren, dyed; this loſs touched him, and produced in him a reſolution of changing his Life. He reſolved then to return into his Convent at *Bacaim*, but becauſe all the *Portugueze*, and above all, the Prieſts and Religious perſons, who have paſſed any conſiderable time among the Infidels, are obliged in returning into the *Portugueze* Dominions, to preſent themſelves to the Inquiſition, and make there an exact declaration of the manner of their paſt life, if they would prevent their being compelled to it by force. This Religious, whoſe conſcience perhaps was touched with ſomething relating to the Holy Office, before he left *Surat*, wrote to the Inquiſitor at *Goa* for a ſafe conduct, that ſo he might come to preſent and accuſe himſelf, which was granted him; with this poor aſſurance he departed and came to *Bacaim*, where he was not ſuffered to reſume the Religious Habit, without having firſt cleared himſelf before the Inquiſitors, upon which he went to *Goa*, preſented himſelf at the Table of the Holy Office, whither he was ſeveral times called, and at laſt having been ſufficiently examined, he was abſolved and ſent back to the Vicar General of his Order, who reſtored him the Habit, and again authoriz'd him to diſcharge the Functions of a Preacher and Confeſſor. He thinking all was over, prepared for his departure to *Bacaim*, where was his firſt Convent, when being juſt ready to imbark in a Galliot, he was hurried away to the Priſons of the Holy Office, whoſe Miniſters had not ſo eaſily granted him Abſolution, were it not the eaſier to perform their deſign, that it might not be ſaid they had violated their word, and the ſafe conduct they had given him; at the ſame time they ſpread about a report, that ſince his Abſolution, diſcovery had been made of Crimes of which he had not accuſed himſelf.

This Religious who was clapped up a few days after me, remained there after I got out, as appears by his not being mentioned in the *Act of Faith*, and his Proceſs not being read, which would certainly have been done, had he died in Priſon, ſo that in all probability he muſt continue there till the next *Act of Faith*; I had this relation from a Religious Perſon of the ſame Order, who viſited me after my delivery. And this example ought to teach thoſe who travel, or live in thoſe Countrys where the Inquiſition is Eſtabliſhed, not only to be circumſpect in their words and actions, but alſo never to rely too much on aſſurances, or

 ſafe

ſafe conducts, granted them by the Inquiſitors, or their Commiſſaries, how little ſoever occaſion of miſtruſt they may ſeem to have.

CHAP. XXXII.

Hiſtory of Joſeph Pereira de Montes.

AS Nothing inſtructeth better than examples, I will here ſuccinctly relate what happened to one of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of *Goa*, named *Joſeph Pereira de Montes*; who having been Captain General of the Naval Armies of the King of *Portugal*, was commanded by the Governour of the *Indies*, (the Office of Vice-roy being then vacant) to go with his Ships to the relief of the Town of *Diu*, then beſieged by the *Arabians*. He departed, and arriving at *Bacaim*, was conſtrained to ſtay there a longer time than he had intended, becauſe the winds were contrary; inſomuch as the *Arabians* came down to *Diu*, ſacked it, and returned laden with pillage, before the arrival of the relief. The General, who was come too late, having given his Orders returned to *Goa*; where he was ſcarce arrived, but the Governour, who was then *Antonio de Mello de Caſtro*, a ſworn enemy of *Joſeph Pereira*, cauſed him to be apprehended, formed his Proceſs; and becauſe neither the Governour, nor even the Viceroy, have power to put Gentlemen to death, without receiving an expreſs Order from the Court of *Portugal*, *Antonio de Mello* not being able to take away the life of his Enemy, pronounced againſt him a ſentence, the Execution of which was more cruel than death it ſelf, condemning him to be led through the great Streets of the City by the hand of the Hangman, with an Halter about his Neck, a Quonoville at his ſide, and an Herald walking before, and Proclaiming, that this Juſtice was performed by order of the King, on the perſon of this Criminal, attainted and convicted of Cowardice and Treaſon.

This cruel Sentence was Executed, notwithſtanding the ſollicitations of the friends of the Priſoner; who after he was led about in this infamous poſture, was carried back into Priſon, whether he was ſcarce returned, when a *Familiar of the Holy Office* came to apprehend him, and carry him to the Inquiſition.

This new accident ſurprized the whole City, as knowing that *Pereira* could not be accuſed of Judaiſm, being no *New Chriſtian*, and that he had always lived in good eſteem; they expected therefore with impatience the next *Act of Faith*, to ſee the end of this buſineſs. But this Ceremony being performed after a year, he was not ſeen to appear, nor was his

Proceſs

Proceſs heard to be read, which increaſed the aſtoniſhment of all. We are to know, that *Joſeph Pereira* had a long time ſince had a quarrel with a Gentleman of his acquaintance, with whom he had been afterwards reconciled. This falſe friend who had not loſt his deſign of revenging himſelf, ſuborned with money 5 Domeſtick Servants of *Pereira*, to accuſe him to the Inquiſition as guilty of Sodomy, and produced theſe 5 Witneſſes, who depoſed they had ſeen him commit this Crime with one of his Pages; whereupon the two accuſed perſons were apprehended. The Page who had leſs conſtancy than his Maſter, whom he knew to be as well as himſelf in the Priſons of *the Holy Office*, and not doubting but that he was accuſed of the ſame Crime, whereof the Promotor pretended himſelf to be guilty, terrified by the threats of the Inquiſitors, and fearing to be burnt, as he would in truth have been, if he had perſiſted to deny the fact, and ſeeing no other means to ſave his life, but in confeſſing himſelf guilty, accuſed himſelf of a crime which he never committed, and ſo became a ſeventh Witneſs againſt his Maſter, the Informer being accounted one, according to the Maxims of the Inquiſition. His confeſſion ſaved his life, and being freed at the firſt *Act of Faith*, he was condemned to be baniſhed to *Mozambique*.

Nevertheleſs as *Pereira* perſiſted to maintain his innocence, they condemned him to the fire; and he had been carried to be burnt at the ſame *Act of Faith* wherein his Page appeared, if the continual proteſtations which he made of his innocence, had not induced his Judges to defer the Execution of his Sentence, to try whether in time they could oblige him to confeſs; or if they could not obtain more light in his caſe, they then reſerved him to another *Act of Faith*, which was performed a year after, the Priſons being then ſooner than ordinarily filled. During this year, the accuſer and his Witneſſes were examined diverſe times, and one of the Judges reſolving to examine the Witneſſes ſeparately, whether that night wherein they pretended to have ſeen their Maſter commit this deteſtable Crime, the Moon ſhone or not; the Witneſſes agreeing not in the Anſwer which they made to this Queſtion, were put to the Rack, where they diſowned all which they had teſtified againſt their Maſter. His innocence being thus clearly manifeſted, the accuſers were apprehended; *Pereira* came out innocent at the firſt *Act of Faith*, and the Witneſſes two years after, at the ſame time with my ſelf; when the firſt were condemned to the Gallys for 5 years, and that Gentleman baniſhed for 9 years into the Coaſts of *Africa*.

It is eaſie to judge that the confronting of Witneſſes might have freed the Inquiſitors from this trouble, and the accuſed perſon from the danger of being ſacrificed by the hands of the Holy Office, to the fury and malice of his Enemy; who in my opinion ought, together with his Com-

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plices,

plices, to have been puniſhed with the ſame kind of death, which they intended to have inflicted on an innocent Perſon. And we cannot doubt, but that this clemency of the Holy Office, exerciſed ſo openly towards ſuch groſs offenders, often gives incouragement to the like Attempts.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of what happened to ſome other Perſons, who together with me were enlarged at the Act of Faith.

TWo young Gentlemen married about *Bacaim*, who ſerved the King of *Portugal* in his Navy, took care of a young *Potugueze* Souldier, who waited on them. Theſe *Meſſieurs* being at *Goa* at the end of the Campaign, and deſiring to go and paſs at their Houſes the Rainy ſeaſon, which is called *Winter* in the *Indies*, left this young Souldier at *Goa*, where he pretended to have ſome buſineſs, and therefore would follow them ſome days after. This young Man immediately after the departure of theſe Gentlemen married in *Goa*, from whence he departed two days after his Marriage, and arrived at *Bacaim* four days after his Maſters, to whom he gave no account of what he had done in their abſence. A little while after a Match being offered to him, which ſeemed advantageous to him, he reſolved to make uſe of the occaſion in marrying himſelf a ſecond time. To this end his Maſters were deſired to certifie to the Curate that he was a ſingle Perſon, which they did, not knowing that he was already married. Not long after this ſecond marriage he had a deſire to ſee his firſt Wife at *Goa*; whither the Brother of the ſecond Wife being reſolved to follow him, he found out his firſt Marriage, and accuſed him to the Inquiſition, who cauſed him to be apprehended, and knowing who they were that had certified him to be a ſingle man, ſent order to the Commiſſary of *Bacaim* to ſeize them. So theſe two Gentlemen, more unhappy than guilty, were ſent to *Goa* with Irons on their Feet, and ſhut up in the priſon of the Holy Office. Having remained there 18 Months, they were at laſt produced in the *Act of Faith*, and were condemned to a triennial Baniſhment into the Coaſts of *Africk*; and he who had been married twice, was baniſhed into the ſame quarter for ſeven years, after which he was to return to and live with his firſt Wife.

One of theſe Gentleman was of the race of New Chriſtians; and as theſe unhappy perſons are always ſuſpected to be bad Chriſtians, the Inquiſitors examined him at the Audience, to know if he were not a

Jew;

Jew; and if he had not had some knowledge of the Law of *Moses*? This poor Man stupified with these questions, and fearing that the unhappiness of his Birth would draw upon him, in this occasion, some misfortune; and besides not very well instructed in the Christian Religion, imagining himself to say one of the finest things in the World, and most proper to justifie himself, blasphemed against *Moses*, and said that he had nothing to do with him, and that he knew him not; which his Judges laughed at very pleasantly.

Among those who were enlarged at the *Act of Faith*, I observed one who had a Gag in his Mouth, fastned to his Ears with Packthread. I learned from the reading of his Process, that this punishment was inflicted on him for having used diverse Blasphemies in play. This Blasphemer, besides the shame of appearing in this Equipage, was moreover condemned to a banishment of five years.

CHAP. XXXIV.

My departure from Goa, *my arrival first at* Brasil, *and then at* Lisbon.

I Was led with Irons on my Feet into a Ship, which was then in the Road, ready to set sail for *Portugal*. They put me into the hands of the Master of the Ship, who was charged to deliver me to the Inquisition of *Lisbon*. And the Captain having received his last dispatches, we weighed Anchor the 27th of *January* 1676. and the same day my Irons was taken off. Our Voyage was prosperous as far as *Brasil*, where we arrived in *May*. As soon they had cast Anchor in the Bay of *All Saints*, the Master under whose Guard I was, caused me to land with him, and brought me to the Palace of the Governour, and from thence to the common Prison, where he delivered me into the hands of the Jaylor.

I was detained in this Prison all the while the Ship stayed in the Haven; but by the favour of some Friends whom I gained in this Country, I obtained, during my stay, the liberty of going out of Prison in the day time, and being shut up only in the night. The Prison of this Town is the most proper of all those which I had hitherto seen, except those of the *Holy Office*. Beside the low Rooms, which are tolerably clean and lightsome, there are above Stairs diverse Rooms for Persons less guilty, more rich, or better recommended. There is also a Chappel wherein Mass is celebrated upon *Sundays* and Holidays. And there are in this Town so good a number of charitable Persons, that the Prisoners suffer

no want. We re-embarqued in the beginning of *September* to go for *Lisbon*; but this laſt paſſage was not ſo favourable, as was that from the *Indies* to *Braſil*.

There happened to me an accident, during this Voyage, which deſerveth to be here mentioned. Approaching one day to the *Holy Table*, to receive the adoreable Body of Jeſus Chriſt, he from whoſe hands I received it, who was a *Cordelier* of the obſervant Friers, obſerved that I ſhut my Eyes, while he pronounced thoſe words, *Domine non ſub dignus*; and although I had no other intention in this action, than of humbling my ſelf in the preſence of my God, this good Father, who had already entertained a bad opinion of me, becauſe I had been in the Inquiſition, ſo ill interpreted this mark of my Devotion, that he could not forbear from reproaching me many days after, and telling me that he had no reaſon to doubt but that I was ſtill an Heretick, ſince I vouchſafed not ſo much as to look upon our Lord, when he was preſented to me in the Communion. I leave you to think whether the Judgment which this Religious Perſon made then of me, was not of the number of thoſe which are called raſh? However, I endeavoured to defend my ſelf, and declare my intention to him; he always aſſured me, that after an action of that nature, he could not any longer retain a favourable opinion of me.

CHAP. XXXV.

They bring me to the Gallere. *A deſcription of that place.*

AS ſoon as Anchor was caſt in the Haven of *Lisbon*, the Maſter, under whoſe guard I then was, gave notice of my Arrival to the Inquiſition, whether I was carried the next day, and from thence, by order of the Inquiſitors, who vouchſafed not to ſee me, I was led to the Priſon called the *Gallere*, which beareth this name, becauſe there being no Galleys in *Portugal*; thoſe whom the Holy Office, or Lay Judges condemn to that puniſhment, are ſent thither. They clapt a Chain upon my Foot, to which was chained a *Portugueze*, who had eſcaped the Fire, by confeſſing the evening before he was to be burnt by order of the *Holy Office*.

In this *Gallere* all Criminals are chained two and two together by one Foot, only with a Chain about a foot long. The Priſoners have at their waſte a hook of Iron, whereunto hang their Chain, and there remains yet about 3 foot of Chain between them. Theſe couples are ſent every day to labour at the Work-houſe where they build the Ships; they carry

Wood

Wood to the Carpenters, unload the Ships, pick out ſtones and ſand for Ballaſt, carry Water and Victuals aboard for the Voyages, ſerve to make Ropes, and all other uſes, wherein they can be imployed for the ſervice of the Prince, or of the Officers who command them, how vile and rude ſoever they be.

There are found among theſe Gally-ſlaves perſons condemned by the Inquiſition, others by the Lay Judges, fugitive and incorrigible ſlaves, whom their Maſters put into this place to chaſtize them, and reduce them into order, *Turks* who have been taken Priſoners in the Pirate Ships of *Barbary*. All theſe perſons, of whatſoever quality they be, are indifferently employed in vile and painful Labours; unleſs they have money to give to the Officers who conduct them, and who exerciſe an unheard of cruelty upon thoſe who cannot mollifie them ſomewhat from time to time.

This Land Gally is built upon the bank of the River, it hath two great Halls, the one above, the other below, both are filled, and the coupled Priſoners laid upon Couches with Matts; all their Heads and Beards are ſhaved once a month, they wear a Coat made cloſe to their bodies, and Caps of blue Cloath. They alſo allow to them an Hood of courſe grey Serge, which ſerveth them as well for a Mantle in the day, as for a Coverlet in the night; and theſe are all the Garments which are given to them from ſix to ſix months, together with ſhifts of courſe Cloath.

They give to every one a pound and an half of very hard and black Biſcate to eat every day, ſix pounds of ſalt fleſh every month, with a diſh full of Peaſe, Lentils, or Beans; this allowance they may order as they pleaſe. Thoſe who receive any ſupply from otherwhere, ſell this fare to buy ſomewhat better, according to their ability. No Wine is allowed to them, and thoſe who drink it, buy it at their own coſt; every day betimes in the morning, except on ſome very few Feſtivals, they are led to the Workhouſe, which is a good half League from the Galley, where they labour without any intermiſſion, on whatſoever they are employed till Eleven of Clock; they then ceaſe working till One a Clock, and during this interval they may either eat or reſt themſelves; at One a Clock they return to their labour, continuing it till night, when they are ſent back to the Gally.

There is in this Priſon a Chappel, wherein Maſs is ſaid on *Sundays* and Feſtivals. There are at *Liſbon* charitable Clergymen, who come often to make Catechiſms and Exhortations to the Galley-Slaves. Beſide the Victuals which the Prince giveth them, they receive very often Alms, inſomuch as no want is there ſuffered; when there are any ſick perſons the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons come to viſit them, and if the diſeaſe

grow

grow dangerous, all the Sacraments are adminiſtred to them. Thoſe who commit any fault are whipped in a moſt cruel manner. They ſtretch them out at length with their Bellies upon the ground ; and while two men hold them, a third ſtriketh violently with a great knotted rope upon their Buttocks, which ofttimes teareth off the skin, and large pieces of fleſh with it. I have ſeen more than once, how that after ſuch whipping they have been forced to make deep inciſions, which degenerating into Ulcers, render theſe unhappy wretches incapable of working for a long time.

When one of the coupled Slaves hath buſineſs in the Town, they permit him to go thither, even without his Companion, if he deſireth it, paying a Guard, who may follow him every where. In that caſe he is forced to carry his Chain alone, and as it is very long he layeth it over his Shoulder, letting it hang down before or behind, as himſelf ſhall find moſt convenient.

CHAP. XXXVI.

I preſented diverſe Petitions to the Inquiſition to obtain my Liberty, which is at laſt granted to me.

THE day after my arrival into the Galley, I was ſhaved, cloathed, and employed in labour as the other ſlaves ; but how laborious ſoever this manner of life was to me, the liberty of ſeeing and ſpeaking to the whole world, rendred it much leſs troubleſome to me than the horrible Solitudes of the Inquiſition. According to the terms of my Sentence, I was to paſs 5 years in this rude ſlavery, and there was no great appearance that any favour would be ſhewed to a man who had ſpoken againſt the Integrity and Infallibility of *the Holy Office*. Nevertheleſs the deſire which all unhappy perſons naturally have to ſee their miſery ended, made me think of ſome means to recover my Liberty much ſooner than I was otherwiſe probably to expect it ; I firſt enquired whether there were any *French* at *Lisbon*, who might ſerve me in the deſign which I had. And having learned that Mr.——firſt Phyſician to the Queen of *Portugal*, was not only favoured by that Princeſs, but alſo by all the Grandees of the Court, I addreſſed my ſelf to him, and begged of him that he would grant me his Protection ; this he did in the moſt obliging manner in the World, offering not only his intereſt in all things which lay in his power, but alſo his Purſe and his Table, where he did me the honour to give me a place, enchained as I was, whenſoever liberty of

going

going to him was granted me; ſo that the Habit of a Gally-ſlave rendred me not more contemptible in his eſteem. He had alſo the goodneſs to viſit me in Priſon, and adminiſter comfort to me, whenſoever his affairs permitted him.

I writ in the next place into *France*, to my kindred, to give them an account of the deplorable condition whereinto I had been for a long time reduced, that they might ſollicit, either by themſelves, or by others, thoſe perſons whom they might imagine to have any intereſt with the Queen of *Portugal*, who I hoped would interpoſe in my behalf. I muſt not here omit, that the Liberty which was afterwards granted to me, was no other than the effect of the powerful Protection of Mr. —— In effect Mr. —— who was naturally generous and beneficent, knowing that he had the goodneſs to intereſs himſelf in obtaining my Liberty, redoubled his diligence, to cauſe it to be obtained the ſooner. I preſented, by his advice, an ample Petition to the Inquiſitors, wherein I briefly declared the cauſes of my Impriſonment, and requeſted them to moderate the exceſſive ſeverity which I pretended to have been exerciſed againſt me in the *Indies*.

No anſwer was returned to this Petition, no more than to three or four others, which followed it in leſs than two months; and the reaſon of this ſilence was, That the Office of the Inquiſitor General was then vacant, and *Monſieur Don Veriſſimo de Lencaſtea*, Archbiſhop of *Braga*, afterwards Archbiſhop of *Lisbon*, and at preſent Cardinal, having been but lately promoted, had not yet taken poſſeſſion.

This Prelate, for whoſe coming I made continual Vows, as knowing that he alone could determine my buſineſs, arrived at laſt at *Lisbon*, towards the Holy Week: But ſince in that time the Tribunals are not open, I was yet forced to have patience till after *Quaſimodo Sunday*. As ſoon as the Inquiſitor General had entred upon the Functions of his Office, I preſented a new Petition to him, which was carried to the Supreme Council; but all which it produced, was, that *Don Veriſſimo* ſaid, That he could not believe that what I related was true, there being no appearance that they would have condemned a man to ſerve 5 years in the Gallies for matters of ſo little conſequence.

This anſwer, of which an account was given to me, produced ſo much the more joy in me, becauſe every one aſſured me, that the Prelate with whom I had to do, was equally noble, learned and generous; all this induced me to cauſe a new Petition to be preſented to him, to intreat him to give himſelf the trouble to read my Proceſs, that ſo he might by that means, perceive that I had offered nothing to him but what was moſt true; this propoſition met with great difficulties in the Council, none of them being willing to conſent to this review of my Proceſs, which I de-

ſired, becauſe all the Tribunals of the Inquiſition being ſupreme, and no appeal laying from one to the other, this would be to intrench upon the Authority of the Inquiſition of *Goa*, and to go about to reform its Decrees; this was ſo great an obſtacle, that I had never obtained my deſires, if the Inquiſitor General had not ſtrongly ſollicited in favour of me.

At laſt, after many earneſt addreſſes to him, he ſuffered himſelf to be overſwayed by the ſollicitations of diverſe Perſons of Quality, and chiefly of his Niece, the Counteſs of *Figveirol*, who had a very particular eſteem for the firſt Phyſician of the Queen. He carried then my Proceſs to be read at length in his preſence, and being convinced that I had propoſed nothing falſe to him, and withal, perceiving the injuſtice and ignorance of my Judges, who had condemned me upon pretence of my ill intention, he ordered that I ſhould be reſtored to perfect liberty, writing with his own hand theſe words, at the bottom of my laſt Petition, *Seia ſolto como pede, e ſe vapor a Francæ*, that is, Let him be ſet at Liberty as he deſireth, and let him return to *France*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

My departure from Lisbon, *and arrival in* France.

MY Requeſt being thus anſwered by the Inquiſitor General, in the ſupreme Council, which is aſſembled from eight to eight, or from fifteen to fifteen days, was remitted to the Table of the Holy Office, where audience is held twice every day; theſe Meſſieurs immediately ſent a Familiar to advertize me, that liberty was granted to me, that I ſhould ſeek for a Veſſel to go into *France*, and give notice of it to the Inquiſition, who would not fail to imbark me therein.

I received this News the firſt of *June*, with a joy which perſons who have not ſuffered Captivity will ſcarce be able to conceive; but afterwards reflecting upon the difficulty of finding a Veſſel, and bargaining for my Paſſage, while I had not the liberty of acting, I repreſented to the Inquiſitors by a Memoire which I cauſed to be preſented to them, that it would be impoſſible for me to receive any benefit from the favour they had ſhewed to me, while I remained Chained, there being no poſſibility in ſo great a Town as *Lisbon*, to know what Ships come in, or go out of the Haven, unleſs a Man waits there himſelf, or hath ſome friend who may inform himſelf with diligence.

The Officers of the ordinary Council, who had maliciouſly and rigorouſly interpreted the words, which the Inquiſitor generally made uſe

of

of to grant me liberty, in saying I should be set at liberty as I desired, and go into *France*, explained these latter words, which were indeed added as a surplusage of favour to me, as an absolute obligation of immediately embarquing my self; and so made answer for my Memoire, That they would grant me my desire, on condition, I would give caution, and procure Sureties, that I would stay no longer at *Lisbon* than was necessary to obtain an opportunity of being gone. This answer was signified to me the 28th of *June*; I went immediately to give an account to Mr. ——— and intreated him to finish that matter which he had so kindly begun. Some urgent affairs hindred him from going the same day to the Inquisition, but going thither the 30 of the same month in the morning, and giving caution for me, that in default of my being gone at the first opportunity, he would pay four hundred Crowns: They sent in the Afternoon of the same day, being the last of *June* 1677, a Familiar to the Galley, who caused my Irons to be taken off, and carried me to the Holy Office; where being called in the presence of the Inquisitors, they asked whether I knew the Queens Physician, They told me he had given caution for me; that themselves extended their favour to me, and that from that moment I might go whether I pleased. Then commanding me to withdraw, I answered only with a profound reverence, and was immediately freed from the Tyrannical Power of the Holy Office, under the rigour of which I had groaned almost four years, continuing from the day of my Imprisonment, *August* the 24th 1673, to the last of *June* 1677.

As soon as I had set foot out of this terrible House, I went into the next Church, to render thanks to God and the Holy Virgin, for the liberty I had just now obtained. I went in the next place to Mr. ——— who wept for joy, embracing me. I then took a turn to the Galley, to give my last adieu to those poor afflicted Persons, who had been the Companions of my Misfortune; and to take away that little Luggage which remained to me. I enquired with all possible diligence, when any Ship would part part for *France*, having much greater desire to be gone, that so I might get out of the Jurisdiction of the Inquisitors, than they could have for my departure. I found one in a short time, upon which I embarqued my self; and after having passed thorough some light Fatiques, I had the happiness to arrive in my Country in perfect Health.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The History of a Gentleman, which will serve to shew the Spirit of the Holy Office.

I Will finish this Discourse of the Inquisition with the Relation of what I know to have happened to two Persons, whom I saw in the Galley at *Lisbon*, who were there before me, and remained there when I came out, and with whom I had particular Discourses, upon the account of my own, and their Cases.

The first of these unfortunate Gentlemen bore the Office of Major of a Regiment, when he was apprehended, he was of the race of new Christians, and was accused to have Judaized, by persons who in all probability had no other means to save their lives than by confessing themselves guilty of the same Crime, and naming many Innocents, indeavouring to find out the Witnesses whom they were obliged to gues at by the Inquisition; this poor Officer thus accused, was seized, and shut up in the Prisons of the Holy Office, he was examined diverse times to learn from his own mouth the cause of his imprisonment, but he not being able to tell it, since he knew it not himself, after he had been kept more than two years, they let him know that he was legally accused and convicted of being an Apostate *Jew*, which he always stoutly denied, protesting that he had never ceased to be a Christian, and submitted to none of all those accusations wherewith he was charged; nothing was omitted to oblige him to confess, not only Life, but also the restitution of his Goods were promised to him; he was afterwards terrified with threatning of a cruel Death, but none of all these things could shake his constancy. And he boldly declared to his Judges, that he would choose rather to dye innocent, than to preserve his life by an act of Cowardice, which would for ever overwhelm him with Infamy. The Duke of *De Aveira*, who was then Inquisitor General, and passionately desired to save the life of this Prisoner, vehemently exhorted him to make use of those means which were offered to him, of preserving himself from execution. And because the accused person had testified a constant resolution of never yielding to render himself infamous, by a base confession of those Crimes which he had never committed, the Inquisitor General offended with his seeming obstinacy, was transported so far, as to say to him *Cuides que aves de ganhar?* That is, What do you then pretend to? Do you think that we have belied you? And so withdrew, leaving to the Prisoner to think at leisure what he had to do. The words of this Judge include a very strange sense, and may justly give occasion to reflections, which

which are neither advantageous to himself nor to the *Holy Office*, for this was very near as if he should say, We will rather cause you to be burnt as guilty, than let the World believe that we have Imprisoned you innocent.

At last, the Act of Faith approaching, after more than three years Imprisonment, our Major heard the Sentence of Death pronounced against him; and a Confessor was given to him to dispose him for it. This Gentleman, who had hitherto appear'd so resolute, was terrified by the approaches and preperation of his execution: insomuch as hearing the Evening before the ceremony, acknowledged all which was desir'd of him against himself, however false; he appeared at the procession vested with one of those *Samarras* covered with fire, whose flames tend downward, which is called in *Portugueze fogo revolto*; to shew that by his confession, however late, he had avoided death, after he had been justly Condemned to it; and by sentance of the Inquisition beside the confiscation of his goods he was condemned to the Galleys for five years.

He had then served there more than two years when I arrived at *Lisbon*; and it was in that place, and from his own mouth, that I learned what I have now related.

CHAP. XXXIX.

A Gentleman, one of the greatest Quality in *Portugal*, who was a *New Christian*, and very Rich, named *Lewis Pecoadessa*, having intermeddled in diverse Criminal Causes, but in the *Laick* Judicature, had thereby contracted the hatred of many persons. These finding no better means to Revenge themselves of him, accused him to the *Holy Office*, as making secret Profession of Judaism, together with his Family; so that in the same day, his Wife, his two Children, his Daughter, and some others of his who dwell with him in his House, were Arrested, and shut up in the Prison of the Inquisition of *Conimbra*.

Lewis Pecoa was first examined, to draw from him a particular account of his Goods, of which the Immoveable alone yielded thirty thousand Livers Rent; and all this, as well as the Moveables, was buried in the Treasures of the *Holy Office*. They urged him in the next place, to declare the cause of his Imprisonment, which he could not do, knowing nothing of it. All ways were attempted which the Inquisition is wont to make use of, to oblige accused persons to confess their Crimes; but all this shook not the Constancy of *Lewis Pecoa*. At last, almost three years being elapsed, the Promotor signified to him the Crimes whereof he was accused, and the Sentence of Death which would be past upon him, if he resolved not to confess. He endeavoured to justifie himself, protested all the Facts whereof he was accused were so many falsities, desired he might know his Witnesses who had deposed against him, whom he undertook easily to convince of Perjury; and offered many Arguments to his Judges, whereby they might have clearly perceived his Innocence, if they would have made use of them. But the Inquisitors without having any respect to what he alledged in his own defence, seeing him to persist in denying the Accusation, condemned him to the Fire, and acquainted him with his formal Sentence 15 days before the Execution.

The Duke of *Cadaval*, who loved *Lewis Pecoa*, to whom he had been Godfather, and who was an intimate friend of the Duke *d'Aveira*, informed himself from time to time of all particulars concerning the condition of the Prisoners Case; and knowing from the Inquisitor General, that the Prisoner Confessing nothing, and being otherwise sufficiently Convicted, according to the Maxims of the *Holy Office*, could not escape the Fire, if he

accused

accuſed not himſelf before his being carried forth to Execution, was infinitely concerned for him. He deſired leave to ſpeak or write to this unfortunate Gentleman, to perſwade him to ſave his life at any price whatſoever; but this was not poſſible. At laſt he bethought himſelf of an Invention, which is ſo ſingular, that it never happened to any other in *Portugal*; which was to gain a promiſe from the Inquiſitor General, that if he could perſwade *Lewis Pecoa* to confeſs even after his being carried forth to Execution at the *Act of Faith*, he ſhould not be put to Death; although this was directly contrary to the Laws of the *Holy Office*; this being promiſed to him, and he knowing the day wherein the *Act of Faith* was to be Celebrated at *Coimbra*, he ſent from *Lisbon* ſome of his own friends, and others of *Lewis Pecoa*, who poſt themſelves at the Door of the Inquiſition, when the Proceſſion began, that they might approach to their unhappy Friend as ſoon as they ſhould ſee him appear.

As he was condemned, ſo the pile of Wood was made ready for him. He bore a *Carocha* and a *Samarra* covered with flames and Devils, his Picture was drawn to the Life before and behind, placed upon burning fire-brands. His Sentence was written at the bottom, and his Confeſſor walk'd by his ſide; his friends had no ſooner ſpied him, but breaking out into tears, they caſt themſelves upon his Neck, and begged of him in the name of the Duke of *Cadavalle*, and by all that was moſt dear to him, to think of ſaving his life. They acquainted him with the aſſurance which they had received, that he ſhould not be Executed if he would confeſs; and remonſtrated to him, that the loſs of his Eſtate ought not to create any difficulty in him, ſince the Duke, who had ſent them to him, had charged them to aſſure him in his Name, that he would beſtow upon him more than was taken from him. All theſe Reaſons, together with the tears and ſollicitations of his generous friends, could not move *Lewis Pecoa*; who continued to proteſt with a loud voice, that he had always been a Chriſtian, that he would dye ſuch; and that all whereof he had been accuſed, were ſo many falſities invented by his enemies to take Revenge upon him, and made uſe of the *Holy Office* to reap the ſpoil of his Eſtate.

The Proceſſion being arrived at the appointed place, the Sermon was preached; the Proceſs of thoſe whoſe lives were ſaved was Read, and the evening being come, they began to read the Proceſſes of thoſe who were to be burned: The Deputies of the Duke then redouble their entreaties, and at laſt made their friend conſent to demand audience. He roſe up, and ſaid, Let us go then and acknowledge theſe falſities, to ſatisfie the deſire of our friends. Audience was granted to him, and he was led back into Priſon. But the *Act of Faith* being finiſhed when they called him to the Table to confeſs, he had much more difficulty to reſolve himſelf; and was diverſe times upon the point of ſuffering his Sentence to be confirmed, without any hope of mercy: Yet at laſt he confeſſed what they would, and ſigned his Confeſſion.

Two years more being elapſed from the time of his being carried forth to execution, he was ſent to *Evora*; where he appeared in the *Act of Faith*, wearing a *Samarra* with the fire inverted: And after he had ſtay'd five years in the Priſon of the *Holy Office*, he was farther condemned to the Galleys for five years, and was ſent thither the morrow after: And there it was that I knew him, and learned from him the particulars of that which I have here related.

This unfortunate Gentleman, who appeared to be a very honeſt and tolerable good Chriſtian, learnt after his enlargement, that his Wife and Daughter died in Priſon, a little while after they had been ſhut up; and that his two Sons, leſs conſtant than himſelf, having accuſed themſelves in time, had been enlarged ſome time before, and condemned to a Baniſhment for ten years into the *Algarves*. As for himſelf, he expected only the moment to be freed; as I was, and his deſign was to quit *Portugal* as ſoon as poſſible, and go ſpend the reſt of his life in ſome Country where the Inquiſition ſhould have no place.

FINIS.

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